

**A SURVEY OF REPRESENTATIVE LAND CHARTERS OF
THE ETHIOPIAN EMPIRE (1314-1868) AND RELATED
MARGINAL NOTES IN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH
LIBRARY, THE ROYAL LIBRARY AND THE UNIVERSITY
LIBRARIES OF CAMBRIDGE AND MANCHESTER**

by

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Thesis submitted to the University of London
(School of Oriental and African Studies)

for

the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

June 1992



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This work is humbly dedicated to the memory
of
His Grace Abune Yohannes, Archbishop of Aksum.
(1897 - 1991)

May his lifelong work in the service of the Ethiopian
Church and people continue to bear fruit and multiply.

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to compile and analyse information about ownership, sales and disputes of land in Ethiopia between 1314 and 1868 on the basis of documents which are preserved in the marginalia of Ethiopic manuscripts in the Collections of the British Library, the Royal Library at Windsor Castle and the University Libraries of Cambridge and Manchester. While the specifically royal charters were drawn up in some cases as far back as the early fourteenth century, numerous other documents dealing with sales and disputes of land were written between 1700 and 1868. In that year, these manuscripts were looted by members of the Napier Expedition after the citadel of Emperor Téwodros II fell into their hands and were subsequently brought to the United Kingdom. While almost all the royal charters were written in Ge'ez, the rest of the documents dealing with personal bequests or gifts, sales and disputes of land were written in Amharic and thus, apart from their historical significance, they are also important as they illustrate the development of modern Amharic.

Out of some 2,100 documents which are preserved in the marginalia of 49 manuscripts, I have here selected 274 and it is hoped that they will serve as a representative documentation of the land tenure system and administration of land of the country for more than half a millennium. The number of documents dealt with in this thesis thus exceeds the number of those described by Conti Rossini, who translated some 100 other land charters and related notes compiled from the marginalia of Ethiopian manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The documents reproduced in this thesis are put in chronological order and an effort has been made to find the equivalent European dating whenever the documents fail to supply a precise date. The documents are also translated and annotated and are classified into five sections, namely: Church Lands, Private Lands, Crown Lands, Land Sales and Land Disputes. Copies of the transcripts of the original Amharic and Ge'ez documents are also included together with glossaries of titles and

terms. As far as the locations of the lands referred to in the documents (i.e., personal land bequests or gifts, sales and disputes of land) are concerned, the city of Gondar and the regions around it are largely covered, while additional references to land grants to the sovereigns themselves and to members of the royal family, churches and individuals are also available for other areas of the country.

The main findings of this study are that income from land, or more accurately a land tax, was used as a means to compel submission and obligation. The allocation or distribution of such an income to the Church and notable individuals was finely balanced and kept in equilibrium by the members of the Solomonic dynasty who ruled Ethiopia between the years 1314 and 1769. In the subsequent years, however, the country entered into the so called Era of the Princes (1769-1855), where local nobles succeeded in fragmenting the central power, so, in the absence of absolute power, the weak sovereigns were forced to grant ever more land to influential individuals rather than to the Church.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am grateful to my supervisors, Dr. David Appleyard and Professor Andrew Roberts, for their helpful suggestions. I would also like to extend my thanks to Professor Richard Gray, Dr. Joan Maw and Dr. Dick Hayward for showing an interest in my studies and, in particular, I am indebted to Mr. Michael Mann, for his advice when I was designing the Amharic font, which is reproduced in this thesis. Finally, I would also like to register my thanks to James Garton, Maxim Anderson and Yalew Kebede for their constant encouragement, and to the librarians in the Institutions but especially to Mr. Peter Stocks of the British Library for being so helpful to me ever since I undertook this research. I am also equally grateful to the trustees of the David Hamilton Memorial Trust for their generous grant for travelling expenses in England and to the Africa Educational Trust for their grant to cover tuition fees as well as for the reproduction of this thesis.

KEY TO TRANSLITERATION

In transcribing from Ethiopic script the following symbols have been used for letters which may be unfamiliar to the English reader:-

<u>Consonant</u>	<u>Symbol</u>
አ	`a
ዐ	‘a
ሸ	sh
ቀ	q
ቸ	ch
ኀ	ñ
ኸ	kh
ዝ	zh
ጃ	j
ጠ	t’
ጢ	ch’
ጸ	p’
ጸ/ፀ	s’
<u>Vowel order</u>	<u>Symbol</u>
first	ä
second	u
third	i
fourth	a
fifth	é
sixth	e
seventh	o

Note: well known names such as Addis Ababa, Gondar, Makelle are not transliterated according to this system but are rendered in their more common spellings.

KEY TO CLASSIFICATION OF DOCUMENTS

C.L. = Church Lands

Cr.L. = Crown Lands

L.D. = Land Disputes

L.S. = Land Sales

P.L. = Private Lands

LIST OF EMPERORS WHO GRANTED *GULT* LANDS

1. Amdä S'eyon, 1314-44.
2. Hezbä Nañ, 1430-33.
3. Zär'a Ya'eqob (Qwäst'änt'inos), 1434-68.
5. Eskender (Qwäst'änt'inos), 1478-94
6. Na'od, 1494-1508.
7. Lebnä Dengel, Dawit (Wänag Sägäd), 1508-40.
8. Gälawdéwos, 1540-59.
9. Minas, 1559-63.
- 10 Särs'ä Dengel (Mälak Sägäd), 1563-97.
11. Fasilädäs (Aläm Sägäd), 1632-67.
12. Yohannes I (A'elaf Sägäd), 1667-82.
13. Iyasu I (Adyam Sägäd), 1682-1706.
14. Téwoflos (As'erar Sägäd), 1708-11.
15. Dawit III (Adbar Sägäd), 1716-21.
16. Bäkafa, 1721-30.
17. Iyasu II (Berhan Sägäd and Adyam Sägäd), 1730-55.
18. Iyo'as I, 1755-69.
19. Täklä Haymanot II (Gerum Sägäd and T'ebäb Sägäd), 1769-77.
20. Sälonon II, 1777-79.
21. Täklä Giyorgis, 1779-84, 1788-89, 1794-95, 1795-96, 1798-99, 1800.
22. Iyasu III, 1784-88.
23. Hezqeyas, 1789-94.
24. Bä'edä Maryam II, 1795.
25. Yonas, 1797-98.
26. Egwalä S'eyon, 1801-1818.
27. Iyo'as II, 1818-1821.
28. Gigar, 1821-1830.

29. Sahlä Dengel, 1832-1840, 1841-1855.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

I. The Manuscripts

Ethiopia is unique in Africa; its history is recorded in many manuscripts and glimpses of its long history are also found on coins and stone inscriptions. Unlike most other African countries, whose ancient history is mainly based on oral tradition, Ethiopia enjoys fairly detailed written source material originating from as early as the middle of the Fourth Century A.D. During this period two brothers, Abreha and As'beha, reigned in Ethiopia and their kingdom opened up a panorama in the country's history¹. The adoption of Christianity in Ethiopia as a State religion in 333 A.M. (340/41 A.D.) meant the introduction of a new character in the working of the State machinery². The Christian kingdom encouraged Christianity to spread throughout the country with constant material support.³

The voluntary embracing of Christianity by the Ethiopian State, unlike other nations of the time, "delighted monastic communities abroad and as a result of these favourable conditions several persecuted saints made their way to the country in order to verify for themselves what they had heard".⁴ About 480 A.D., nine monks, who were later canonized, arrived at Aksum from the Byzantine Empire; these afterwards dispersed throughout the kingdom to build churches and establish monasteries.⁵ Besides their introduction of monasticism, the other major contribution of the Nine Saints was the translation of the Bible from a Syrio-Greek text into Ge'ez. In this way

¹ *Neburā Ed* Gäbrä Mäsqäl (later Abune Yohannes) states that while Abreha reigned at Aksum, As'beha reigned in Shewa; see Haylä Sellasé (1955 A.M.): II, p. 677.

² B. L. Or. 821, 37v.

³ Huntingford (1965a): p. 29.

⁴ A sermon delivered by His Grace Abune Yohannes on the annual festival of *Abund* Gäbrä Mānfäs Qeddus in Makelle in 1974.

⁵ Ethiopian Orthodox Church (1970): p. 7.

Ge'ez literature was enriched with new words and, perhaps, their influence may have had a significant impact on the production of manuscripts too.⁶ It appears that their evangelical work was supported by a reward from the sovereigns. According to records of land charters, the foundations of the Nine Saints were accompanied by extensive *gult*⁷ land grants from the State.⁸ In addition to the then established tradition of granting land to individuals,⁹ the sovereign's right to allocate lands for the purpose of building churches and for the settlement of the monastic communities, as well as providing the means for the people who served in them from *gult* lands, meant the beginning of an important chapter in the subsequent highly complex land tenure system of the country.¹⁰

"Christianity does not constitute a purely religious phenomenon in the country, but plays an integral role in all aspects of national life. The Church is not only a religious institution, but has for many centuries been the repository of the cultural, political and social life of the people."¹¹ Thus, as the Ethiopian Orthodox Church was the centre of both worship and learning, and of cultural life generally, over the years the libraries of its well-established churches and monasteries became well stocked, not only with holy books but also with books on historical, theological, philosophical and astronomical subjects. As can be seen from the colophons and the inventories of church books in the manuscripts in the British Library, for instance, a great number of them were donated to churches by the sovereigns, members of the royal family and other nobility.

However, Emperor Téwodros II (1855-1868), towards the end of his reign, reversed the tradition by failing to follow the good example of his predecessors: he forcibly took away the finest manuscripts from the libraries of churches, mostly from

⁶ Ethiopian Orthodox Church (1970): p. 8; see also Alämayähu Mogäs (1972) "Yä'ityop'eyana Yägerik T'entawi Genñunät", *Abba Salama*, III, p. 182.

⁷ The benefit of tax from land.

⁸ Huntingford (1965a): p. 30.

⁹ Budge (1928): I, pp. 245-6; Pankhurst S.(1955): p. 50; Pankhurst R. (1966): p. 21.

¹⁰ I.e., up to the total restructuring of the land tenure after the 1974 revolution.

¹¹ Ethiopian Orthodox Church (1970): p. 5.

Gondar. According to T. Waldmeier, Emperor Téwodros took the manuscripts from the churches of Gondar in December 1866.¹² *Aläqa Wälda Maryam*, the author of one of Emperor Téwodros II's chronicles, states that the Emperor removed 981 manuscripts from Gondar alone and kept them in the royal treasury at his citadel at Mäqdäla.¹³ "Tons of Geez and Amharic manuscript books"¹⁴ were kept in huts near the church and, according to Blanc, were subjected to constant inspection involving checking where:

[O]nce or twice a week the chiefs would meet in consultation in a small house erected for that purpose in the magazine inclosure to discuss public affairs, but, above all, to assure themselves by personal inspection that the 'treasures' entrusted to their care were in perfect order and in safe keeping.¹⁵

The fate of Emperor Téwodros' Collection was, however, determined when Sir (later Lord) Robert Napier's forces stormed his citadel to liberate the British prisoners on Easter Monday, 13 April 1868, thereby leading to his suicide. Markham reported: "After the capture, the troops dispersed over the amba in search of plunder. The treasury was soon rifled".¹⁶ A detailed account of the items in the treasury was given by the journalist Stanley, who went with the British expedition to Mäqdäla, that:

There were ... an infinite variety of gold, and silver, and brass crosses ... heaps of parchment royally illuminated; stacks of Amharic bibles; missals, and numberless albums; ambrotypes and photographs of English, American, French, and Italian scenery; bureaus, and desks of cunning make.¹⁷

At the time of the withdrawal of British forces, G. Rohlf, who accompanied the expedition as one of the German representatives, referred to the surroundings of Mäqdäla as having been strewn with torn Amharic books, loose leaves and fragments.¹⁸ Moreover, Stanley states that:

¹² Rita Pankhurst (1973): P. 15.

¹³ Mondon-Vidailhet (n.d.): p. 50.

¹⁴ Markham (1869): p. 358.

¹⁵ Blanc (1868): p. 210.

¹⁶ Markham (1869): p. 359.

¹⁷ Stanley (1874): p. 458-59.

¹⁸ Rita Pankhurst (1973): p.17.

Over a space growing more and more extended, the thousand articles were scattered in infinite bewilderment and confusion until they dotted the whole surface of the rocky citadel, the slopes of the hill, and the entire road to camp two miles off!¹⁹

Thus, it is clear that valuable State and Church documents were destroyed during the looting of the royal treasury. Simpson, the artist covering the campaign for the Illustrated London News, wrote:

A large number of books had been found in Magdala. Theodore had looted churches all over the country of their books, and sent them to his stronghold, where he intended to found a church to the Holy Trinity. Sir Robert arranged to bring home a certain number of these books to place in museums, and in the libraries of the universities, and a few for presents. The books were all written on parchment, and in the old Geez character. Books of this kind are scarce in Abyssinia because they are expensive, so Sir Robert considered that it would be unfair to bring out of the country more of them than was necessary. As they were principally Bibles, gospels, psalters, and books of devotion, he was giving them, as we marched back, to the various churches we passed.²⁰

Holland and Hozier, in their report of the expedition, state that "About 900 volumes were taken as far as Chelikot, and there about 600 were delivered to the priests of that church,²¹ one of the most important in Abyssinia".²² Thus, the exact number of the manuscripts kept at Mäqdäla during the storming of the citadel by the British forces is, however, not known but they are estimated to be between 900 and 1,000.²³

Out of the booty, a selection was made in Ethiopia by Richard (later Sir Richard) Holmes, then an assistant in the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum, who accompanied the expeditionary forces as an archaeologist, with the help of Werner Munzinger, a Swiss national, for the British Government.²⁴ The record of the expedition states "359 books were retained for the purpose of scientific examination, and in the hope that some light might be thrown by them, through the labours of the learned men of Europe, on the ancient history of Ethiopia, and on the

¹⁹ Stanley (1874) p. 459.

²⁰ Eyre-Todd (1903): p. 193.

²¹ In 1971, when I visited the Church of Sellasé at Ch'äläqot, which is 12 k.m. south of Makelle, the *Qésä Gäbdz* said that 44 manuscripts were in the possession of the church and an inspection of four of these manuscripts showed that all of them were written in the Eighteenth Century and two of them were commissioned to be written for Emperor Iyasu I and Emperor Bäkafa respectively.

²² Holland and Hozier (1870): II, p. 396.

²³ Wright (1877): p. iii.

²⁴ Wright (1877): p. iii.

records of Christianity".²⁵ Wright, in the preface to his catalogue of Ethiopian manuscripts, which in the main consisted of the Mäqdäla Collection, states "On 28 August 1868 the bulk of the Maqdala collection was handed over to the trustees of the British Museum by the Secretary for India. ... The entire Maqdala Collection consists of 350 volumes".²⁶ The difference between this figure and 359 manuscripts mentioned above is made up of the six manuscripts presented to Queen Victoria and the three manuscripts procured by Sir Richard Holmes, on the way to Mäqdäla.²⁷ Sir Richard Holmes also managed to add to the Collection in the British Library an item containing detached folios of various manuscripts and six letters of Emperor Téwodros II to *Wäyzäro* Yätämmañu on his return to London.²⁸

Besides the officially admitted looted Mäqdäla manuscripts, which are at present housed in the British Library and the Royal Library at Windsor Castle, several manuscripts were also brought to this country by members of the expeditionary forces. Ullendorff states that:

[P]robably no fewer than 150-200, were brought to Britain by individual members of the expeditionary forces. Most of these found their way into university libraries, notably the Bodleian and the Cambridge Libraries, but a few remained in private hands and reappear occasionally at auction sales.²⁹

Rita Pankhurst, in her meticulous study, has attempted to trace the distribution of these privately imported manuscripts to the United Kingdom and it is possible to deduce from her chart that 31 manuscripts presently housed in the university libraries of Oxford, Cambridge and Manchester could be identified as Mäqdäla manuscripts.³⁰ The only reliable means of identifying the Mäqdäla manuscripts is the note that they usually bear on the top of the first page of texts stating that they belonged to the Church of Mädhane Aläm at Mäqdäla. The Mäqdäla manuscripts in the British Library, however, carry an

²⁵ Holland and Hozier (1870): pp. 396-97.

²⁶ Wright (1877): p. iv.

²⁷ Wright (1877): p. iii.

²⁸ B. L. Or. 829*, ff. 27-32.

²⁹ Ullendorff (1973): p. 18.

³⁰ Rita Pankhurst (1973): p. 40.

additional stamp stating that they were “presented by the Secretary of State for India”, an indication that they were first transported to India before they finally reached London.

The origin of Ethiopian manuscript collections in both private and institutional libraries in the United Kingdom is not entirely linked with the brief British military intervention in Ethiopia. In fact, it goes back to the late 18th century when James Bruce, the Scottish traveller, returned home with a substantial number of manuscripts and his collection was eventually deposited in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. There were also 82 manuscripts in the British Library prior to the addition of the Mäqdäla Collection but these manuscripts were copies of common and readily available manuscripts in Ethiopia. On the other hand, a great many of the Mäqdäla manuscripts are important not so much for their antiquity, as none of them predate the Fourteenth Century, as for their textual and marginal content and art.³¹ It is thus not surprising that Strelcyn should state that “The Magdala Library considerably enriched the collection of Ethiopic manuscripts in the British Museum, making it the richest in Europe”.³²

At least 55 of the manuscripts in the British Library, for example, preserve original documents dealing with all aspects of the country's local and national issues and their presence in the country was seen as a source of stability and continuity. The sudden removal of the centuries-old legal records by the British forces created uncertainty due to the deprivation of documentation in the country and their seizure not only symbolized national humiliation, but, as Emperor Yohannes IV (1872-1889) stated to Queen Victoria, it also resulted in a period of confusion and turmoil.³³ It is apparent that the turmoil was not only caused as the direct result of the failure of the country's legal system in retaining archival source material to reinforce law and order in the country, but also the removal with it of innumerable holy utensils, relics and icons.

³¹ Wright (1877): p. v.

³² Strelcyn (1978): p. ix.

³³ “ገገጌ፡ተፋለሰ፡ሁኖብኝ፡አለ” , i.e., “I am faced with turmoil in my country”; see Edward Ullendorff and Abraham Demoz (1969) “Two letters from the Emperor Yohannes of Ethiopia to Queen Victoria and Lord Granville”, *Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXXII, Plate II (between pp. 136 and 137).

The icon of Kur'attä Re'esu,³⁴ the source of emperor's and people's might during war-time and of joy and hope during peace-time, was also taken with the manuscripts by the British. The Mäqdäla manuscripts were the booty of the Napier expedition taken from Ethiopia's first national collection in the holy grounds of the Church of Mädhané Aläm at Mäqdäla. Thus, the manuscripts are not a random collection as they formed a State-backed church library and archive in Ethiopia and came together as a body to Britain. Emperor Téwodros II took the finest manuscripts, mostly from the churches in Gondar at the point of a gun, and of these the best manuscripts were in turn selected and kept by the British in the same manner. However, Emperor Yohannes IV asked Lord Granville, the then foreign Secretary, to send him:

A picture called Qurata Rezoo which is a picture of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and was found with many books at Magdala by the English, this picture King Theodorus took from Gondar to Magdala, and it is now in England; all round the picture is gold, and the midst of it coloured again there is a book called Kivera Negust, which contains the law of the whole of Ethiopia, and the names of Shums (Chiefs) Churches, and Provinces are in this book, I pray you will find out who has got this book, and send it to me, for in my country, my people will not obey my orders without it- I have also written to the Queen about this.³⁵

Despite the Emperor's desperate request, only one manuscript (B. L. Or. 819), which apparently contains abundant marginalia,³⁶ was restored to the sovereign by the Trustees of the British Museum in December 1872.³⁷

II. The Marginalia

While major historical events in the country are reported in royal chronicles, specific local issues and events, mainly dealing with land allocation and ownership, were carefully recorded in the blank folios and margins of Gospels and other holy books. Although a few chronicles of Ethiopian sovereigns have been translated and are

³⁴ Lit., "The striking of His head"; a picture of Christ, which was carried whenever the emperor went during war-time but during peace-time, it was kept in a church which was consecrated in the same name in Gondar.

³⁵ Ullendorff and Abraham Demoz (1969): p. 141.

³⁶ Rita Pankhurst (1973): p. 34.

³⁷ Rita Pankhurst (1973): p. 33; Wright (1877): pp. 297-98; Ullendorff and Abraham Demoz (1969): p. 135.

available to scholarship, the utilisation of manuscript marginalia as a primary source for historical research is a recent development. Indeed, the Ethiopic manuscript marginalia are a goldmine for the history of the social and economic life of the country. This hitherto virtually untapped resource has attracted the attention of eminent scholars like Conti Rossini³⁸ and Huntingford,³⁹ who translated some 100 land charters and related notes compiled from the marginalia of Ethiopian manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Their translation, however, is inadequate and in some ways misleading especially when they deal with a grant of land where, in fact, it is a grant of tax from the land. More recently, historians such as Crummey⁴⁰ and Pankhurst⁴¹ have moved into this field in search of documents to reinforce their historical research.

Generally, studies so far produced in this field are rather limited considering the abundant land documentation available in the marginalia of Ethiopian manuscripts both within and outside Ethiopia. Being fully aware of this gap in the economic and social history of the country, Professor Richard Pankhurst suggested that I work on these "important, but difficult, and, to some people, boring documents".⁴² He suggested that I look "at the easily accessible manuscripts in the British Library" and went on to stress that "several people have been prevented from carrying out a systematic research in this field due to a lack of adequate skill in the Ge'ez and early Amharic languages as well as sheer determination".⁴³ Having looked at 45 manuscripts in the British Library, which preserve nearly 1,750 land documents, I felt it was essential to expand the research to

³⁸ Conti Rossini (1954) "Documenta ad Illustrandam Historiam: I. Liber Axumae", *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Volume 54 (text), Volume 58 (French version) Louvain.

³⁹ Huntingford (1965a) *The Land Charters of Northern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa.

⁴⁰ For example: (1979) Gondarine *Rim* Land Sales: An Introductory Description and Analysis, in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Ethiopian Studies*, Section B, ed. by R. L. Hess pp. 469-478; (1987) "Three Amharic Documents of Marriage and Inheritance from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, I, ed. by Taddese Beyene, pp. 315-27.

⁴¹ For example: (1979) *Tax Records and Inventories of Emperor Téwodros of Ethiopia (1855-68)*, in association with Germa Selasse Asfaw; (1979) "An eighteenth century Ethiopian dynastic marriage Contract between Empress Mentewwab of Gondar and Ras Mika'el Sehul of Tegra", *Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies*, XLII, pp. 457-66.

⁴² Private communication.

⁴³ Private communication.

other libraries in Britain. While a single manuscript at the Cambridge University Library contains marginal notes preserving 332 separate documents, two manuscripts at the Manchester University Library and one manuscript at the Royal Library at Windsor Castle offer only one document each respectively.

The documents refer mainly to issues concerning church *gult* lands and thus exclusively reflect the church's archival records of land documentation. These land documents and inventories of church books, vestments and carpets were usually recorded in "Golden Gospels"⁴⁴ and, as Conti Rossini correctly stated, they were known as *däbdabé*.⁴⁵ The marginalia also contain contemporary information on a broad range of issues which are of great interest to Ethiopian research. Besides the 45 manuscripts in the British Library, for example, ten other manuscripts in the same Collection also contain inventories dealing with property (i.e., the sale of houses), taxation, church books, vestments and holy utensils, essays on political and theological issues and medical prescriptions. The marginalia are usually written in an inferior quality of black ink or occasionally in blue ink. Red ink is rarely used in the marginalia for writing the names of saints, sovereigns, church officers and individual owners of lands.⁴⁶ Erasures on vellum had proved to be difficult and there are several cancellations and corrections.⁴⁷ The corrections were usually done by putting short lines above and below the letters corrected and sometimes a circle around them. Similarly, forgotten words were written either between lines or on the margins and the writers occasionally indicated the omitted words with various signs.

Moreover, there was no rule as where to start writing the documents in the blank folios of manuscripts; the writers might start either at the beginning of the blank folios of manuscripts or in the space where the text ends. They might even start at the very end of the blank folios and go on to the beginning of the text. When any available

⁴⁴ I.e., Gospels, whose binding is decorated with gold sheets.

⁴⁵ Lit., 'letter'; see 82(P.L.a.37.), B. L. Or. 504, 2v., B. L. Or. 481, 92v., etc. See also Pankhurst R. (1966): p. 38.

⁴⁶ 82(P.L.a.37.), B. L. Or. 508, 282v. and Cambridge Add. 1570, 261r.

⁴⁷ B. L. Or. 776, 12v., 270v., 271r., etc.

blank space has been used, they might even search for space to write in the margins alongside the columns of the texts. There is also an instance where an incomplete document appears due to lack of space.⁴⁸ Therefore, the marginalia is written in a haphazard manner without following a formal pattern. Consistent documentation in a periodic manner is rare in the manuscripts in the British Library as they were freely written in whatever space was available. However an effort is made by the writers to keep a document in the same page of a folio and not to continue on the next.⁴⁹ As time went on, issues might arise regarding any specific piece of land and, on such occasions, there is a noticeable attempt by the scribes to record such an issue closer to a previous document which was written in connection with that land. The essential idea behind this was simply to make it easier for reference purposes. Unlike the texts of the manuscripts themselves, the marginalia were written by non-professional scribes, though at times it is possible to identify documents written by an experienced hand.⁵⁰ From time to time, the names of the writers of the documents are entered at the end.⁵¹ In particular, the mention of senior church officials, who held titles such as *géta*,⁵² *qäñ géta*,⁵³ and *mäl'akä sälam*⁵⁴ as the writers of the documents may be an indication of their familiarity with the people involved in the transactions described. Furthermore, as far as names of people mentioned in the documents are concerned, the name of the individual was written after the father's or the mother's name. The names of Emperors Demét'eros, Egwalä S'eyon and Sahlä Dengel also appear abbreviated as Dimu or Dimmo, Gwalu or Gwalé and Sahlu respectively. The title *liqä mäsämran* is also occasionally abbreviated as *liqä mäsämmer*.

⁴⁸ 68(P.L.a.23.).

⁴⁹ For example: B. L. Or. 799, 215r. and 215v., i.e., 21(C.L.a.21.).

⁵⁰ B. L. Or. 777, 19v.

⁵¹ For example: As'efä Kiro, 91(P.L.a.46.), 155(P.L.d.16.), B. L. Or. 776, 2v., etc.; Gäbrä Dengel, B. L. Or. 776, 1v., 3v., 10v., etc.; Gäbrä Mäsqäl, B.L.Or.776, 9v., 10r., 271r., etc.; Wasé, B. L. Or. 777, 2r., 2v., 3r., etc.

⁵² B. L. Or. 776, 1v.

⁵³ 75(P.L.a.30.).

⁵⁴ B. L. Or. 508, 286v.

These land documents may appear dry and boring, when they are dealt with in isolated cases, but when they are categorized in a chronological order, they begin to form a pattern and throw light on many important aspects of the country's history. The concept of land, ownership, obligations and duties together with economic values is fundamental to an understanding of the fabric of society at that time. Thus the aim of the research was first to gather these abundant but dispersed land documents, and then select materials as a basis for discussion and analysis of their linguistic and historical content. The 274 documents selected in the thesis are intended to serve as examples of the documentation of ownership, sales and disputes of land. Charters with repetitious style and manner of writing, for instance, have been omitted in favour of those with more references to people, regions and contemporaneous historical events of the time. The documents deal with the entire northern part of the country, as far south as and including Shewa; the regions covered have all at various times been the heartland of the Ethiopian Kingdom. Thus, although this rich legacy of the Mäqdäla Collection is only a small fraction of the marginalia of Ethiopian manuscripts written and copied throughout the centuries, it may be taken to be a fairly complete representation of the country's systems of land tenure and administration during the period selected here.

III. Owners of the Manuscripts

It is extremely difficult to identify the owners of the 59 manuscripts with marginalia in the Collections, but there is enough documentary evidence to link at least 38 of them to their owners. Almost all the manuscripts were written for individuals, including the sovereigns, and an occasional brief mention of names of owners are made in the texts and in the colophons for the purpose of prayer and blessing. At times, manuscripts preserve records of sales of the same to individuals.⁵⁵ When manuscripts were sold to individuals, however, the new owners' names were inserted by erasing

⁵⁵ Bodleian 52 Ms. Aeth. C5, 1r. and B. L. Or. 487, 2r.

the names of the previous owners. Churches, too, bought manuscripts from individuals.⁵⁶ On such occasions, the church's name is written on the blank folios of the manuscripts stating ownership and the price.⁵⁷ Sovereigns⁵⁸ and individuals⁵⁹ also gave manuscripts to churches but the gift by the former is by far the greater. Usually, the gift of manuscripts to the churches by sovereigns was linked with the ones which they commissioned to be built. Far more reliable information about the ownership of the manuscripts can be drawn from the marginalia. While inventories of church books provide names of church treasurers, the marginalia of *rim*⁶⁰ land sales, for instance, frequently mention names of the officials of churches. Thus, based on such information, it is fairly possible to identify the owners of the manuscripts, most of whom, incidentally, happen to be churches in Gondar, from whose holy grounds the manuscripts were violently snatched. Indeed, looking at the list of owners of the manuscripts, it is interesting to note that Emperor Téwodros II had restrained himself from taking manuscripts from monasteries.

List of Manuscripts whose Owners are identified:

1. B. L. Or. 481.
2. B. L. Or. 487.
3. B. L. Or. 504.
4. B. L. Or. 508.
5. B. L. Or. 511.
6. B. L. Or. 513.
7. B. L. Or. 518.
8. B. L. Or. 520.
9. B. L. Or. 529.

⁵⁶ B. L. Or. 637, 106r., B. L. Or. 776, 7r. and B. L. Or. 777, 1v.

⁵⁷ B. L. Or. 637, 106r., B. L. Or. 776, 7r. and B. L. Or. 777, 1v.

⁵⁸ 24(C.L.a.24.), 28(C.L.a.28.), B. L. Or. 508, 19r., etc.

⁵⁹ B. L. Or. 504, 2r., B. L. Or. 520, 265v., B. L. Or. 732, 369r., etc.

⁶⁰ An entitlement to an income from a church *gult* land to those who participate in the services of a church.

10. B. L. Or. 549.
11. B. L. Or. 604.
12. B. L. Or. 635.
13. B. L. Or. 636.
14. B. L. Or. 637.
15. B. L. Or. 638.
16. B. L. Or. 644.
17. B. L. Or. 659.
18. B. L. Or. 673.
19. B. L. Or. 674.
20. B. L. Or. 678.
21. B. L. Or. 732.
22. B. L. Or. 733.
23. B. L. Or. 734.
24. B. L. Or. 745.
25. B. L. Or. 746.
26. B. L. Or. 776.
27. B. L. Or. 777.
28. B. L. Or. 778.
29. B. L. Or. 784.
30. B. L. Or. 799.
31. B. L. Or. 806.
32. B. L. Or. 813.
33. B. L. Or. 827.
- 34a. B. L. Or. 829*, 14r. - 25v.
- 34b. B. L. Or. 829*, 27r. - 32v.
- 34c. B. L. Or. 829*, 47r. - 53v.
35. Cambridge Add. 1570.
36. Manchester Eth. Mss. No. 27.

37. Manchester Eth. Mss. No. 28.
38. Ms. Eth. Windsor VI.

List of Churches identified as Owners of Manuscripts:

1. Arba'etu Ensesa in Gondar, no. 19.
2. Bā'ata in Gondar, no. 12.
3. Hamärä Noh in Gondar, no. 4.
4. Iyäsus, Addähabay, in Gondar, no. 25.
5. Iyäsus, Qäha, in Gondar, no. 8.
6. Kidanä Mehrät in Gondar, no. 15.
7. Kidanä Mehrät, at Däffäch'a, nos. 2 and 10.
8. Ledäta in Gondar, nos. 11 and 14.
9. Mädhane Aläm in Gondar, nos. 7 and 16.
10. Mahdära Maryam in the district of Däbrä Tabor, no. 35.
11. Mika'él, As'as'amé, in Gondar, nos. 28, 31 and 37.
12. Mika'él, Fit, in Gondar, no. 6.
13. P'ët'eros and P'awlos in Gondar, no. 20.
14. Qwesqwam, Däbrä S'ähay, in Gondar, nos. 5, 21, 26, 33 and 36.
15. Rufa'él in Gondar, nos. 29 and 30.
16. Se'el Bét (Kur'attä Re'esu) in Gondar, nos. 13 and 17.
17. Sellasé, Däbrä Berhan, in Gondar, nos. 1, 3, 27 and 32.
18. Täklä Haymanot in Gondar, nos. 9, 18, 24 and 34c.
19. Yohannes in Gondar, no. 23.

List of Individuals identified as Owners of Manuscripts:

1. Täklä Haymanot, perhaps, the baptismal name of Däjazmach Näch'o,
no. 38.
2. Téwodros II, Emperor, nos. 22 and 34a.
3. Yätämäñu, Wäyzäro, no. 34b.

IV. The Sources, Authenticity and Condition of the Documents

With the exception of two manuscript (B. L. Or. 650 and B. L. Or. 678), which date back to the Fifteenth Century, the manuscript sources range in date from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries. The provenance of the documents dating back before the Sixteenth Century are copies of earlier charters, included in the process of redaction, or simply written during renewals of the charters. Bruce's unqualified statement that the land charters "found in the Appendix to the book of Axum; which, though expressed in legal form are probably all forgeries" may be dismissed as unhelpful because any claim to land, however remote or recent the grant, was subjected to a continuous renewal process by a series of sovereigns over the years, which indirectly affirmed their genuine transmission.⁶¹ As far as this study shows, there is evidence to show that several copies of the same charters were recorded in the manuscripts of various churches. On one occasion, for instance, Emperor Iyasu I is reported to have ordered his land grant to the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé, "to be written down in all church books so that it may be a witness for the following generations".⁶² Thus, there are even two copies of the same charter by the same sovereign in one manuscript.⁶³ Moreover, copies of the charter of Emperor Täklä Haymanot II to the Church of Däbrä T'ebäb Bä'ata are preserved in five manuscripts.⁶⁴ As far as the charters which record *gult* land grants to individuals is concerned, a vital clue to the rigorous documentation process of land is shown in a charter where the renewal of a *gult* land was written in the books of eight judges.⁶⁵ To have several copies of a charter was obviously helpful for checking the accuracy of the contents. As far as the documents are concerned, there is no inconsistency in their content and

⁶¹ Bruce (1813): III, p. 17.

⁶² 16(C.L.a.16.), B. L. Or. 650, 16v. and 17v.

⁶³ B. L. Or. 650, 16v. and 17v.

⁶⁴ 29(C.L.a.29.), B. L. Or. 481, 209v., B. L. Or. 638, 247r., B. L. Or. 799, 4r. and B. L. Or. 806, 144r.

⁶⁵ 82(P.L.a.37.).

substance save for a few variations in spelling and slight omissions, thus clearly confirming the accuracy of their transmission.

The manuscripts preserving the marginalia are holy books and they were revered and handled with great respect in Ethiopia. It is not therefore surprising to find them now in the Collections in an impressive condition. Although these manuscripts must have been repeatedly moved in order to be used as liturgical books during prayers and for checking purposes while they were in Ethiopia, it is remarkable that they fail to show any significant degree of neglect. While most of the texts of the manuscripts appear to be radiant, the marginalia in some folios of manuscripts have faded and thus could be read only with difficulty.⁶⁶ None of the manuscripts also appear to have been exposed to severe dampness to the extent that the documents are greatly affected.

V. The Form and Content of the Documents.

The corpus displays fascinating examples of the legal documentation and administration of land. The form and content of the documents, as described below, vary from period to period and the variation clearly throws light on the political situation of the country. The charters of mighty emperors, such as Amdä S'eyon and Zär'a Ya'eqob, appear to be brief and fail to include sanction. However, from the reign of Emperor Eskender onwards, the format of charters changed with the inclusion of lists of contemporary State and Church officials and they began to retain the sanction in the same way as those of the charters of the Aksumite period.⁶⁷ The inclusion of names of the nobility in the charters, for instance, hints at the political climate of the time, where the power of the nobility *vis-à-vis* the emperor was beginning to rise. Father Francisco Alvarez, the chaplain to the Portuguese mission in Ethiopia between 1520 and 1526, gives an eye-witness account of the political condition of the country by

⁶⁶ B. L. Or. 776, 9r., B. L. Or. 777, 1r. and 2r.

⁶⁷ Two out of five charters of Emperor Amdä S'eyon also mention witnesses but all of them fail to include sanction.

describing the ways Emperor Lebnä Dengel was brought to the throne with the help of powerful nobility.⁶⁸ Thus, the presence of the nobility during the granting of *gult* lands to both churches and individuals as witnesses and their awareness of a pronouncement of an anathema by the Church officials was hoped to serve as a deterrent from violating the ordinance.

Apart from the charters which deal with State land grants to churches, individuals and to reigning sovereigns, there are also numerous documents dealing with land sales and disputes. Thus, the documents are valuable for the study of the interrelationship between land ownership and the economic power of individuals in the society. The variation in amount in *gult* land grants, the lists of tributary lands and local people, the *rim* land bequeathals or gifts and the fluctuation in price of *rim* lands are all significant indicators of social status and mobility of people in society. The numerous records of judicial decisions resolving land litigation are also reflections of the then existing State and Church administrative apparatus on legal issues.

Unlike the charters which exclusively refer to State *gult* land grants, the rest of the documents dealing with land sales and disputes are not explicitly dated and the distinction between Emperors with the same name, for example, Iyasu I, II, III and IV, Salomon II and III must be deduced from individuals mentioned in other similar transactions with known dates. Usually, the documents record only a specific issue (i.e., a grant of *gult* land) but a single document of land sale, for example, may contain several sales of *rim* lands if the purchaser or the vendor happens to be the same person. The land sale documents specifically give an insight into the social and economic position of people. At times the documents are furnished with detailed information about individuals, not only those who sold and bought land but also those who happened to be either guarantors or witnesses during transactions. Moreover, information such as tributary rights and personal and ethnic labels opens up a wide opportunity for historians not only to pinpoint individuals who were successful at

⁶⁸ Beckingham and Hantingford (1961): I, p. 243; see also Pankhurst R. (1966): p. 4.

accumulating land but also to identify their family ties, position and influence in society. The records of land sales in the Collections indicate that land was a saleable commodity in the society at least from the early Eighteenth Century. Almost all the records give prices for which lands were bought. Such information throws light on price movements and on the value of currency.

1. Royal Charters

The charters are essentially legal documents and were drawn up according to the country's existing legal customs and practices. According to Huntingford, "Whatever their prototype may have been, they form a class of document which is foreign to both Ethiopia and the countries in the Near and Middle East with which Ethiopia has cultural connexions".⁶⁹ He continues:

The Ethiopian charters resemble in *form* those of Saxon England more closely than any others; so close indeed is this resemblance that one is tempted to postulate an ultimate Saxon origin for the Ethiopian documents, even though the actual links between them are obscure.⁷⁰

The similarity between the Ethiopian documents and their Saxon equivalents, which Huntingford raises, is misleading and unhelpful for I see no reason to believe that the Ethiopian charters are influenced by foreign sources. Indeed, Huntingford was misguided in this, because there are copies of similarly constructed charters reputedly dating back to the Fourth Century Aksumite period and some of these charters have actually been edited and translated in Huntingford's own work on the subject.

The form and content of the charters vary considerably. At times some of them, regardless of chronological factors, appear in a brief form. Nevertheless, the charters generally follow a fairly specific pattern and one can identify a common underlying structure, which can be summarised in the following:

1. Invocation

⁶⁹ Huntingford (1965a): p. xi.

⁷⁰ Huntingford (1965a): p. 16.

2. Name of grantor and grantee
3. Dating
4. Reason for the grant
5. List of estates granted and type of grant
6. Taxation values and the transfer of tax
7. List of contemporary officials
8. An immunity clause
9. Sanction

1.1. Invocation

The invocation is written in Ge'ez, except in one charter where it appears in Arabic. It is expressed as follows:

- a. In praise of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, in nos. 1, 3, 5, etc.
- b. With the aid of God, in no. 19.
- c. By the will of God, with the aid of Our Lady, the mother of God, in no. 10.
- d. With the aid of Our Lady Mary, in no. 55.

1.2. Name of Grantor and Grantee

The sovereigns, besides granting lands to themselves, also granted and renewed entitlement to taxation on lands to churches and individuals. In addition to the emperor's Christian name, his regnal name was also frequently cited. Regnal names were assumed on the emperor's accession and are often an allusion to his power or prowess. Several emperors shared the same regnal name. On several occasions, the sovereigns also held two regnal names and, at times, succeeding sovereigns also continued to adopt their predecessor's regnal name. This problem is specially highlighted in the Era of the Princes, when several sovereigns reigned only for brief periods. Such reference to duplicate names occurring within such a close period creates a problem in identifying sovereigns. Sovereigns might also at times refer to their fathers, as in the case of Emperor Iyasu I, who states, "We King Adyam Sägäd, the

son of Emperor A'elaf Sääd",⁷¹ or be referred to by others as "Iyasu [II], the son of Bäkafa".⁷² In almost all the charters, the names of the grantors and the grantees are clearly stated, except in two instances, where the grantee is omitted. While one of the charters describes the renewal of "*gult* [land] of the Gospel",⁷³ another simply states the grant of *gult* lands to "the children".⁷⁴ Similarly, the name of the grantee, especially when this is a church, is not always clearly stated. The names of churches appear without reference to the region where they are situated, and this makes it difficult to identify them. In most cases, however, the name of the region appears together with the church name, for example, Batérgéla Maryam, Qämuḡ Kidanä Mehrät and Mos'a Giyorgis. In the case of others, specific reference names, such as Däbrä Berhan (Church of Light), Däbrä S'ähay (Church of the Sun) and Däbrä T'ebäb (Church of Wisdom) are added to the name of the churches of Sellasé, Qwesqwam and Bä'ata respectively. But names such as Sellasé, Qwesqwam and Bä'ata alone without such an additional reference are again difficult to identify. Sometimes, however, the same manuscript may contain documents with the more specific name. In these cases, it may be safe to assume that an unidentified reference, e.g. Sellasé, is the same as a specific one, e.g. Däbrä Berhan Sellasé, if both occur in the same manuscript.

1.3. Dating

Most of the charters mention the name of the sovereigns who granted them. The mention of the sovereigns' names alone, as already mentioned, is, however, not always sufficient for dating purposes. Nevertheless, some charters are furnished with years and months, the Era of the Evangelist, or number of regnal years of a sovereign. Abushaker's *Bahrä Hasab*,⁷⁵ a chronological order of days, is only used in one charter.⁷⁶ Two types of calendrical systems, the "Year of Mercy" and the "Year of the

⁷¹ 16(C.L.a.16.), B. L. Or. 650, 16v. and 17v.

⁷² 93(P.L.a.48.).

⁷³ B. L. Or. 650, 7v.

⁷⁴ 187(Cr.L.6.).

⁷⁵ Lit. "the sea of thought", which clearly refers to the difficulties involved in the calculation.

⁷⁶ 15a(C.L.a.15a.).

World”, are also used and in no charter do they appear jointly. While the “Year of Mercy” is based upon the Birth of Christ, the “Year of the World” is based upon the Year of Creation which is supposedly 5500 B.C.; both are 7 or 8 years behind the Gregorian calendar. The *Amättä Mehrät* or the Year of Mercy, however, appears in two charters in an abbreviated form (i.e., 31 instead of 1431 and 84 instead of 1484).⁷⁷

1.4. Reason for the Grant

1.4.a. To churches

The sovereign's reason for the grant of land to the churches is usually a pious one. At times, copies of the same charters give a number of reasons. One of the copies of Emperor Iyasu I's charter to the Church of Kidanä Mehrät states that he gave the land to the church “due to his deep love for Kidanä Mehrät”.⁷⁸ Although the purpose of the grant of land to churches is not always mentioned, it is generally intended either for their upkeep or for the livelihood of the people who celebrate Mass and those who carry out various services in them. Now, let us look at some of the reasons:

- a. For a guide to Heaven, in no. 15b.
- b. For the saviour of soul, in nos. 17, 18b, 24, etc.
- c. For the saviour of flesh and soul, in nos. 10, 13, 15a, etc.

1.4.b. To Individuals

The sovereigns also granted lands to individuals for a number of reasons. According to the documents, land was granted to individuals as a reward for valour during wars and also as a compensation for the loss of soldiers. Moreover, land was granted to individuals for helping to crown an emperor and also for ecclesiastics who were to perform specific duties dealing with State and Church functions. Some of the reasons are summarized in the following:

⁷⁷ 2(C.L.a.2.) and 184(Cr.L.2.).

⁷⁸ B. L. Or. 650, 16v.

- a. For the commemoration service of the sovereigns, in nos. 15a, 24 and 184.
- b. For the saviour of the body and soul, in no. 55.
- c. For political support, in nos. 70, 88, 99, etc.

At times, the sovereigns granted lands to individuals by taking it away from other people; some of the reasons are stated below.

- a. When people failed to celebrate Mass at a church, in no. 83.
- b. He rebelled, in no. 85.
- c. Because of differences in faith, in no. 92.

1.5. List of estates granted and type of grant.

Although lists of estates granted appear in the charters, the type of grant is not always stated. All State land grants to churches, individuals, the sovereigns and members of the royal family were simply granted as *gult*. However, such land grants to individuals, the sovereign and his immediate family, unlike the *gult* land grants to churches, were generally understood to last only for the duration of the sovereign's reign, unless the charter specifically states that it was to be passed on to his or her descendants and that it was accompanied by a pronouncement of an anathema by the ecclesiastics of the Church. Emperor Susenyos' extensive *gult* land grant to his brother *Ras Se'elä Krestos*, written in the chronicle of the sovereign,⁷⁹ clearly states that it was given to him as an "hereditary possession for all generations".⁸⁰ However, it is important to note that only one document, which was written down a century later, mentions the phrase *restä gult*,⁸¹ to describe a similar ownership of land.⁸² In one

⁷⁹ Pereira (1900): II, p. 221.

⁸⁰ Huntingford (1965a): p. 61.

⁸¹ Hereditary ownership of *gult* land.

⁸² 145(P.L.d.6.).

instance, however, the word *rest*⁸³ was used in a charter of Queen Admas Mogäsa, wife of Emperor Minas, when she granted the land of Gerot to the Monastery of *Abba Fiqt'or*.⁸⁴ Therefore, the inclusion of the word *rest* in the charter was perhaps used in the same way as *restä gult*, and was intended to indicate the permanency of the *gult* land.

1.6. Taxation values and the transfer of tax

Traditionally land was subjected to a fixed annual or seasonal payment, and taxation estimates were usually in the form of food, such as cereal, honey, butter, cattle and salt, or currency, in the form of cloth, gold and silver. Theoretically, all forms of tribute for land usage went to the sovereign, but, at times, he waived his right to such taxes in certain lands in favour of churches and their functionaries or to distinguished personalities of the State. This transfer of tax of certain lands in forfeit of the royal treasury to *gult*-holders rather than the use of the land itself was seen as a reward for the services of individuals to the Church and the State. Although the exaction of tax from land is specified in most of the charters, there are instances where the charters fail to be specific. One of the charters of Emperor Lebnä Dengel, for instance, fails to mention the quantity of cereal to be given to the Church of P'äraqlit'os; instead, the payment of cereal to the church, for example, was simply stated as "several" measures.⁸⁵ Thus, the request for the unspecified payment of cereal to the church may have easily led to dispute in later years.

1.7. List of contemporary officials

The inclusion of both State and Church officials in the charters goes back to the reign of Emperor Amdä S'eyon and is repeated nearly two centuries later in the charters of Emperor Lebnä Dengel. The tradition of listing contemporary officials, ranging in

⁸³ Hereditary ownership of land.

⁸⁴ 8(C.L.a.8.).

⁸⁵ 5(C.L.a.5.).

number from two to twenty two, continued in the charters, though appearing sparsely, in the charters of various sovereigns until the reign of Emperor Iyasu I. But, from the reign of Emperor Téwoflos onwards right up to the reign of Täklä Haymanot II, only the name of the *Abun* and of the *Ech'äigé* appears, while reference to the State officials is simply made in the generalised form of "governors and scholars of Justice".⁸⁶ During the same period, however, mention of a few names, including an official who helped in the delimitation of the boundaries, is made and they are referred to as witnesses.

1.8. Immunity clause

The State granted *gult* lands to churches and monasteries only with the right to collect the revenue from them. But, at times, monasteries, unlike churches, were also entitled to manage both the administrative and judicial affairs of their *gult* land. In such cases, the immunity clause was included in the charters forbidding the State official of districts, where the *gult* land was found, from interfering in the overall administrative affairs of the region. Thus, the duties of State officials were transferred to abbots of monasteries. This type of grant of *gult* land, however, was limited to monasteries and was not extended either to churches or individuals. Now, let us look at the specifications laid down by the sovereigns:

- a. "No one from amongst you (i.e., Felasha) nor from amongst the chiefs is to transgress it", in no. 8.
- b. "No one from the Chiefs of Begemeder may interfere either in [cases involving] shooting [incidents], or in [the collection of] tax, or in judgement ... or for any other reason", in no. 10.

⁸⁶ 28(C.L.a.28.).

- c. "Let not the Chief of Asgüdi interfere at Särafo ... Let no secular person interfere in the affairs of Justice except for the entrance of the *Mämher*", in no. 13.
- d. "The Chief of Ahsa'a must not enter", in Appendix C.L.1.

1.9. Sanction

The desire of the sovereigns for the continuation of their grant of lands either to churches or individuals is reflected in the charters. This deep sense of veneration for the manuscripts and their concern for the preservation and proper handling of the charters is heavily emphasized and can be seen in the abundance of warnings as well as anathemas against those who disfigure the writings and violate the injunctions. The widely used formula, "Let whoever violates this [ordinance] be anathematized", is followed by use of several types of sanction:

- a. By the power of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, in nos. 5, 15b, 16, etc.
- b. By the flesh and blood of Christ, in nos. 5 and 182.
- c. By the power of Peter and Paul, in nos. 9, 13, 15b, etc.
- d. By the power of the Apostles, in nos. 5, 16, 28, etc.

2. Personal Land Gift Documents

The documents dealing with personal land gifts and bequests to individuals and churches form a pattern of their own. Most of them start with reference to one of the Eras of the Evangelists. At times, the date appears in days, months and also in the "Year of the World" and the name of the sovereign and church officials of the time are also mentioned but the former is omitted in most of them. Most of the documents give a variety of reasons as to why the gift of the land was made, and, at times, information dealing with the personalities involved in the transfer of the land is provided. While a list of witnesses, mostly comprising father confessors and *däbtära(s)*, is the essential

feature in almost all documents, at times, the record is concluded with a sanction. The diversity of the reasons is, however, by far the most interesting and some of them can be seen below:

2.1. To Individuals

- a. For services rendered, in nos. 156, 162, 165, etc.
- b. For the provision of food and clothing, in nos. 149, 155, 157, etc.
- c. To provide a commemoration service after death, in nos. 146, 147, 150, etc.
- d. To recite the Psalter, in nos. 161, 166 and 176.

2.2. To Churches

- a. For the preparation of the Eucharist, in nos. 40 and 41.
- b. For a sovereign's salvation of soul and body, longer life and for the subjugation of rivals and enemies, in no. 37.
- c. For confession, in no. 39.

3. Land Sale Documents

Land sale documents are usually brief and to the point. Most of those in the manuscripts in the British Library start with the Era of the Evangelist and are followed by the name of the sovereign and church officers. The names of vendors and purchasers are recorded together with the price. The name of the guarantor and, at times, that of the surety is also recorded. The text terminates with a list of witnesses. One manuscript (Cambridge Add. 1570), however, has a reversed presentation from that of the British Library ones. The documents follow a strikingly similar structure. All the documents start with the names of vendors and purchasers. They continue with a list of witnesses, and conclude with lists of *ch'eqa(s)* and *mālkāñña(s)*. None of the

documents in this manuscript are dated and no mention is made of the ruling sovereigns.

4. Land Dispute Documents

Most of the land sale documents start with reference to the Era of the Evangelist and the sovereigns of the time and occasionally lists of church officers are also provided. As the dispute mainly deals with *rim* lands, the adjudication is carried out by arbitrators, at times consisting of 12 individuals, and was often chaired by an *aläqa* of a church. However, there were cases whereby an appeal was made and was seen by local State *wänbär(s)* or judges. A specified amount is usually stated as a punishment for any violator of the final decision. The witnesses are usually the *däbtära* of churches.

VI. The Land Tenure System and Taxation

The sovereign, besides granting *gult* lands to themselves, also granted the same to a wide variety of persons, including members of the royal family, nobles, local rulers, senior ecclesiastics and soldiers, as already mentioned above, by waiving his own rights of taxation over land thus granted. The State also generously granted extensive lands of this kind to religious establishments. In doing so, the State was only transferring entitlement to taxation, which otherwise would have gone to its own treasury. This grant of revenue from land rather than the land itself to favoured individuals and religious establishments, as the charters show, was subjected to constant renewal by successive sovereigns.

The documents in the Collections reflect the diversity of the land tenure system and taxation of the country. The complexity of the systems of land tenure and taxation is revealed when one starts to examine the numerous obligations imposed upon holders of land. Services both to the State and the Church were exacted on the basis of land usage or, in the case of *gult* lands, entitlement to land tax; both these arrangements held

people under obligation to perform their duties and services. People who took up positions to fulfil the innumerable services required by the State, for example, keepers of royal cattle and horses and crown land cultivators, were either allocated land with merely a symbolic tax on it or, in the case of palace courtiers and senior officials of the State, various amounts of *gult* lands were allocated to them according to their services and responsibilities. The documents furnish valuable information on the systems of taxation imposed by various sovereigns and the monetary currencies that were employed in the country. Besides ancient forms of currencies, such as cereal, salt and *shämma*,⁸⁷ a number of currencies were also used over the years. The payment of tax in *mähaleq*⁸⁸ was only stated once in the charter of Emperor Hezbä Nañ.⁸⁹ The first reference to *wäqét*,⁹⁰ the most common currency throughout the period, is found in the charter of Emperor Iyasu I to the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé, where the sovereign, for instance, ordered 1 *wäqét* to be given to a priest as an annual salary for carrying out prayers accompanied by incense burning in the church.⁹¹ However, the fractions of the *wäqét*, i.e., *alad*,⁹² *drim*⁹³ and *aqümät*⁹⁴ are also referred to in the documents dealing with land sales, but do not appear until the reign of Emperor Iyasu II. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the *wäqét* continued to be a major currency until the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel.

The assessment of the tax was carried out according to the resources of the regions. According to Bruce, Emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob divided his kingdom into "separate governments, assigning to each the tax it should pay, at what time and in what manner, according to the situation and capacity of each province".⁹⁵ Thus, Bruce's statement clearly confirms Ludolf's assertion that:

⁸⁷ Woven cotton cloth.

⁸⁸ A metal currency but it is difficult to establish whether gold or silver.

⁸⁹ 49(C.L.a.4.).

⁹⁰ Gold weighing an ounce.

⁹¹ 15a(C.L.a.15a.).

⁹² Gold weighing half of an ounce.

⁹³ Gold weighing a tenth of an ounce.

⁹⁴ Gold weighing one-twentieth of an ounce.

⁹⁵ Bruce (1790): II, p. 72; see also Pankhurst R. (1961): p. 180.

As for the Revenues of the King, they are not paid in ready money, but in the natural Productions of the Countries, the most equal sort of Tribute. For some Provinces afford Gold; others Horses, Cattle, Sheep, Corn and Ox Hides, and some few, where Weavers live, send him Garments. They bring their Gold rough and unrefin'd, as they gather it up among the Sands of the Rivers, or digg it out under the Roots of Trees, or else with less Labour find it loose upon the earth.⁹⁶

At times the charters, too, give references to the terrain of regions and to the type of land, thereby giving an idea to the productivity of the region. According to a charter of Emperor Amdä S'eyon, the highland region of Aqwes'e'e, for instance, was assessed for a tax of 2 *dawela*⁹⁷ of cereal and 27 *shämma* and a monthly payment of 8 bars of salt.⁹⁸ The same charter goes on to state that region of Gera, for example, was also assessed for a tax of 97 measures of cereal, 78 measures of honey and 40 bars of salt. This distribution of tax assessment in terms of the condition of the region may give an idea of the fertility of the soil and resources of the region and also to the economic occupations of the people. Thus, while highlanders were required to pay in clothing, the people from the region of Gera were required to pay cereals and honey in great quantity.

Although the charter of Emperor Täklä Haymanot II to the Church of Yohannes Wäldä Nägwädgwad fails to mention the tax evaluation of the land of T'aqusa,⁹⁹ it describes the region as being ideal for the habitation of bees.¹⁰⁰ Thus, such references to land as being ideal for bees clearly gives a clue that the region produced honey in abundance, and the tax of the region must have been assessed with this resource in mind. The payment of honey as tax was last noted in one of the charters of Emperor Bäkafa.¹⁰¹ Similarly, the payment of cattle as tax is only stated in two charters of

⁹⁶ Ludolf (1684): p. 205; see also Pankhurst R. (1961): pp. 189-90.

⁹⁷ A case made of goat or sheep skin holding 20 *qunna*. A *qunna* varies from region to region and from period to period but it is stated by Baeteman, Col. 233, to be between 4 and 5 litres. And according to Guidi, Col., 281, it is 4.67 litres in Gondar.

⁹⁸ 1(C.L.a.1.).

⁹⁹ A region located to the west of Lake Tana and according to the charter 28(C.L.a.28.), it was inhabited by the Felasha or the Agaw of the Kayla branch. However, Merid Wolde Aregay states that it was "inhabited by pagan Agaw" in the Seventeenth Century; see Merid Wolde Aregay (1971): p. 34.

¹⁰⁰ 28(C.L.a.28.).

¹⁰¹ 19(C.L.a.19.).

Emperor Amdä S'eyon.¹⁰² An indication of the replacement of cattle by a currency (i.e., salt) as a tax can be noted in two of the charters of Emperor Fasilädäs,¹⁰³ where a payment of 30 bars of salt was required instead of one cow.¹⁰⁴ Long and short leather thongs are mentioned as being given as tax only in a charter of the reign of Emperor Amdä S'eyon. As far as a payment of tax in drinks and food is concerned, *t'älla*¹⁰⁵ *enjära*,¹⁰⁶ and *fés'o*,¹⁰⁷ were given to churches during specified festivals and some church clerics, in addition to other payments, were also supplied with fruit, fish, cheese and butter. There was also a durational specification of gifts to be made to a cleric from his *gult* land. According to a charter of Emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob, which was later renewed by Emperor Lebnä Dengel, a certain Amdä Berhan was entitled to receive 12 chickens and 12 measures of butter at Easter and the New Year, and also 200 fish every eight days during the two months fasting of Lent.¹⁰⁸

Moreover, it is interesting to note the specification of types of cereal as tax either to the sovereigns or to churches. While *t'ēf*¹⁰⁹ is stated in a charter as tax to be given to the sovereigns,¹¹⁰ wheat, invariably used for the Eucharist, was given to churches.¹¹¹ The payment of barley as tax on land is also mentioned but it is not entirely clear whether it was paid to the sovereigns or to local State officials.¹¹² Emperor Täklä Giyorgis authorized a certain T'äbürgé Goshu and his relatives to give 2 *ch'an*¹¹³ of wheat as tax for their land at Wäbürgé to the Church of Kidanü Mehrät so that it might be used for the provision of the Eucharist.¹¹⁴ The same charter goes on to

¹⁰² 1(C.L.a.1.), 47a(P.L.a.2a.) and 47b(P.L.a.2b.); see also Pankhurst R. (1990): p. 7.

¹⁰³ 12a(C.L.a.12a.) and 12b(C.L.a.12b.).

¹⁰⁴ The word ፍሬ, in fact, means fattened cattle for slaughter of either sex.

¹⁰⁵ Beer.

¹⁰⁶ A flat porous bread.

¹⁰⁷ Seeds of a plant, Garden Cress (*Lepidium sativum*), widely used for medicinal purposes; see Strelcyn (1968): p. 127.

¹⁰⁸ 51(P.L.a.6.).

¹⁰⁹ Millet-like cereal (*Eragrostis abyssinica*) used in making *enjära*.

¹¹⁰ 12b(C.L.a.12b.).

¹¹¹ 56(P.L.a.11.), 62a(P.L.a.17a.), 102(P.L.a.57.), etc.

¹¹² 102(P.L.a.57.).

¹¹³ A measure of grain equivalent to 60 *gunna* (according to Dästa, p. 610) or 30 *gunna* in Shewa or 100 *gunna* in Gondar (according to Kane, II, p. 2228).

¹¹⁴ 102(P.L.a.57.).

state that the land was previously assessed at 4 *ch'an* of barley before the sovereign transferred the payment of the tax on the land to the church. It seems that the tax on land was paid regularly except in one instance when two women named Ehetä Krestos and Gädamawit were unable to pay a tax of 40 *ch'an* of cereal for their land at Géra Deba.¹¹⁵ When the same women told Emperor Iyasu I that they were unable to pay the tax on their land, the sovereign is reported to have replied: "I have given a third of it to the poor [and] the two-thirds to the *däbtära*(s) [of the Church of Mädhane Alām]".¹¹⁶

Until the reign of Emperor Fasilädäs, *gult* lands were granted to individuals and churches without any specification as to the size of land. The sovereign's charters, however, introduce new terms like *meder*, or farm land, and *bota*, or town land for building a house,¹¹⁷ and they clearly signify a total departure from a more general grant of lands which were described only as including an entire region. As the charters of Emperor Fasilädäs indicate, the Church of Mädhane Alām at Gondar and several individuals were granted pieces of land or fields, the tax of which was given to the church by individuals in the form of grain and salt. Here, it is perhaps possible to suspect the beginning of the limitation of the sovereigns' generosity in *gult* land grants to churches. During the reign of Emperor Iyasu II, however, *rim* land sale documents refer to the sales of *meder* and *bota*. At this period, however, the term *bota* is clearly used not in reference to land for farming but to a town land for building a house, for example, in Gondar, which was established as Ethiopia's first fixed capital by Emperor Fasilädäs in 1636.¹¹⁸

According to Gebre Wold Ingida Worq, land measurement started during the reign of Emperor Iyasu I.¹¹⁹ Land was either measured by a long leather thong or by a rope made of plant fibre, which is mentioned in one of the charters of Emperor Iyo'as I and Empress Mentewab as *as'é gämäd*,¹²⁰ in units of *gasha*¹²¹ or its fractions, such as,

¹¹⁵ B. L. Or. 518, 16r. and 173r.

¹¹⁶ B. L. Or. 518, 16r. and 173r.

¹¹⁷ B. L. Or. 745, 5r.

¹¹⁸ Pankhurst R. (1961): p. 86.

¹¹⁹ Gebre Wold Ingida Worq (1962): 303.

¹²⁰ Lit., "emperor's rope".

ekul or half or *kurman* or a quarter. Land measurement in units of *gasha* was first used when land was granted to soldiers, who carried spears and *gasha* or shields to war and the word *gasha* was later retained to describe such a measured land and it continued to be applied to similar grants of land to other individuals and churches.¹²²

Church *gult* lands, unlike private *gult* lands, show enormous diversity in the type of the land tenure system and it is clear that several regulations were attached to it. Whenever *gult* lands, as in the case of the Däbrä Anbäsa, were given to monasteries as *et'an zoré*,¹²³ the taxation was collected for the use of the monastic community and judicial administration of such lands were totally left to a *mämher* of a monastery. Thus, local State officials were authorized not to interfere both in the exaction of tax and day-to-day administration of such regions. Moreover, *mäsqül mārét*,¹²⁴ which could be either *rest* or *gult* land, could be held by individuals but churches or monasteries were entitled to receive the tax from such lands. The *sämon mārét*,¹²⁵ on the other hand, was exclusively allotted by the State to clergy in order to celebrate Mass at churches. As the study shows, there were several occasions on which sovereigns authorized holders of *rest* land to pay the tax on their land to specified churches instead of paying it to the State. In 1752, Emperor Iyasu II and Empress Mentewab granted Qeddestés land to *Blattén Géta Tekku*, saying: "It is his *rest* and may he celebrate Mass at [the Church of] Qwesqwam".¹²⁶ According to a postscript to the same charter, Emperor Iyo'as I also authorized the payment of tax on another *rest* land of *Blattén Géta Tekku*, saying: "May he celebrate Mass at the Church of Qwesqwam [holding] his own *rest* land of a tax of 2 *ch'an* [of cereal] at Käwa". Moreover, other *rest* lands of 13 *meder* at Anch'a and 3 *meder* at Jewana were also given on a similar basis to *Abéto*

¹²¹ Approximately 40 hectares.

¹²² Gebre Wold Ingida Worq (1962): p. 309.

¹²³ Lit., "[Land] around [which burning] incense [was waved]"; the perimeter of land of this sort was blessed with burning incense to indicate that it was given to a monastery and was sanctioned by the clergy with words "ጽንፉ፡እሳት፡ወግዕዝ፡ገላት፡", i.e., "Its edge is fire and its inside a paradise".

¹²⁴ Lit., "Land of the Cross".

¹²⁵ Land of the eighth day, i.e., land held for the service of a church on a weekly basis and that the rota for the service starts on the eighth day.

¹²⁶ B. L. Or. 776, 269r.

Wärqu by Emperor Iyo'as I, who is reported as saying: "With this *rest* of yours, may you celebrate Mass [at the Church of] Ledäta".¹²⁷ Here, what the above mentioned sovereigns were doing was simply authorizing the individuals to celebrate the Mass in the specified churches and whenever they were unable to do so themselves, other people were hired to serve in their stead with the agreement of *aläqa(s)* of the churches. According to Gebre Wold Ingida Worq, "Rist holders ... requested the government to transfer the system of their holdings to this [i.e., *sämon märét*] system. The reason why people wished to transfer from other types of geber [or tax] to *semon meret* was that the geber of the *semon meret* was easier and all things belonging to the church were respected."¹²⁸ Thus, service to a church was required by holders of *sämon märét* in lieu of a payment of tax to a church, but, as Gebre Wold Ingda Worq states, the same person was, however, required to pay *asrat*¹²⁹ to the State.¹³⁰ Gebre Wold Ingda Worq's reference to the payment of *asrat* to the State must have been to later years as he writes in the same book that the levy of the *asrat* started in 1878.¹³¹

VII. Land Ownership and Administration

Research on the manuscripts reveals that land was a decisive factor in playing a crucial role in determining the function of the State by serving as the controlling medium for the organised running of both central and local government. Land, throughout history, was used as a means of control and access to it was achieved by loyalty to the emperor. Thus, the procedure for securing *gult* lands by individuals was based on service to the emperor and the reward was seen to assure such continuity of loyalty. The emperor's complete control over land helped not only to bring about swift mobilization of people in war-time but also the submission of influential individuals in

¹²⁷69(P.L.a.24.).

¹²⁸ Gebre Wold Ingida Worq (1962): p. 308.

¹²⁹ A tithe, i.e., a levy of one-tenth of the produce of the land.

¹³⁰ Gebre Wold Ingida Worq (1962): p. 309.

¹³¹ Gebre Wold Ingida Worq (1962): p. 306.

peace-time. The appointment of provincial governors was closely associated with *gult* land grants by the emperor, and the former were allowed to profit by the use of land tax for their service. As the power of the emperor was “absolute, as well in Ecclesiastical as in Civil Affairs”, he was able to depose or appoint provincial governors whenever he pleased.¹³² Emperor Amdä S’eyon, described by Ibn Fadl Allah (d. 1349) as “the most valiant king”,¹³³ for example, organized the administrative and judicial system of the country and appointed provincial governors.¹³⁴ Furthermore, Emperor Zär’a Ya’eqob’s reign is also well known for the considerable accumulation of power in the monarch’s hand. The provincial administration of all his provinces including the two offices of the *bitwädäd* of the right and the left, the highest posts of the State, were entrusted to royal princesses.¹³⁵ Later on, however, the sovereign himself took over the provincial administration of the whole empire by appointing high-ranking court officials.¹³⁶

Father Francisco Alvarez writes that the emperor:

deposes them and appoints them whenever he pleases, with or without cause; and on this account there is no ill humour here and if there is any it is secret, because in this period that we remained in the country I saw great lords turned out of their lordships, and others put in them, and I saw them together, and they appeared to be good friends.¹³⁷

A century later, Father Manoel de Almeida also states: “what chiefly makes this King great is that he is lord *in solidum* of all lands that there are in all his kingdoms, so that he can take and give them when and to whom he sees fit. Private persons, great and small, have nothing except by the King’s gift and all that they own is by favour *ad tempus*”.¹³⁸ Moreover, the Jesuit who was expelled from the country in the middle of the Seventeenth Century goes on to elaborate the power of the sovereign:

¹³² Ludolf (1684): p. 198.

¹³³ Pankhurst R. (1961): p. 65.

¹³⁴ Huntingford (1965b): p. pp. 12 and 54.

¹³⁵ Haber (1961): p. 153.

¹³⁶ Haber (1961): p. 153.

¹³⁷ Pankhurst R. (1961): p. 121.

¹³⁸ Beckingham and Huntingford (1954): p. 88.

It is so usual for the Emperor to exchange, alter and take away the lands each man holds every two or three years, sometimes every year and even many times in the course of the year, that it causes no surprise. Often one man ploughs the soil, another sows it and another reaps. Hence it arises that there is no one who takes good care of the lands he enjoys; there is not even anyone to plant a tree because he knows that he who plants it very rarely gathers the fruit. For the King, however, it is useful that they should all be so dependent upon him. So it comes about that, some from fear that the lands he has given them may be taken away, others in the hope of getting those they have not, all serve him in peace and war and each one gives him presents in accordance with his ability, for usually he who gives more gets more and he who gives less gets less.¹³⁹

Similarly, Poncet observing the political scenes of the country at the turn of the Eighteenth Century writes that the emperor was the:

absolute master of all the wealth of his subjects. He gives and he takes away, as he thinks fit. When the head of a family happens to die, he seizes upon all his real estate of which he leaves two-thirds to the children as heirs. He disposes of the other third to some favourite, who by that means becomes his feudatory and is obliged to serve him in time of war at his own expense and to furnish him with soldiers in proportion to the estate he gives.¹⁴⁰

Poncet's statement regarding the renewal or extension of people's entitlement to a portion of their *gult* land is confirmed by several charters in the Collections, but the amount of *gult* land confiscated differed tremendously from period to period. The charters of Emperor Iyo'as I and Empress Mentewab, for example, state that a tenth of *Wäyzäro Amättä S'eyon's* and *Däjazmach Wärräñña's* *gult* lands were taken by the sovereigns only to be given away to other individuals.¹⁴¹ In the case of the *gult* land of the latter, while a tenth of the *gult* was granted to *Däjazmach Eshäté*, the rest was left to the children of *Däjazmach Wärräñña*. Moreover, it is also interesting to note the confiscation of a tenth of *Wäyzäro Amättä S'eyon's* *gult* land at Reb by Empress Mentewab, who is reported to have granted it to *Agafari Kenfu*.¹⁴² Furthermore, Emperor Sälonon II granted two-thirds of the *gult* land of *Wäyzäro Eléni* to *däbtära(s)* of an unspecified church and the rest of the *gult* land was left to her children.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Beckingham and Huntingford (1954): pp. 88-89.

¹⁴⁰ Pankhurst R. (1961): p. 131.

¹⁴¹ 68(P.L.a.23.) and 70(P.L.a.25.).

¹⁴² 68(P.L.a.23.).

¹⁴³ B. L. Or. 829*, 47r.

Thus, the sovereigns confiscated *gult* lands held by individuals as easily as they granted them. The process of granting or withdrawing such rights from land could also be completed without altering the property relations of people of the area in question. The *rest*-holders, usually farmed the land, paid their fixed tax either to the State or to *gult*-holders and their status in relation to their land continued in precisely the same way as before. Thus, guarantee for keeping *rest* land was the payment of tribute directly to the State or to a *gult*-holder if such land happened to be within the allocated area of the latter.

However, the power of the Emperor did not remain the same throughout the history of the country. Indeed, there were periods when the power of the emperor fluctuated and nobles of certain areas of the kingdom were able to exert their presence by claiming their positions and consequently their entitlement to their *gult* lands by right of inheritance. Father Manoel de Almeida writes that the emperor “confiscates and grants all the lands as and to whom he chooses, though there are some, chiefly in Tigre, the lordship of which he does not take away from the families and descendants of their first holders”.¹⁴⁴ Thus, the offices of such regions as Tegray, were seldom given to persons who were not descended from former rulers of the area though they were frequently transferred from one member of the family to another, the emperor reallocating them as he wished “every two years, sometimes every year, and even every six months”.¹⁴⁵

The distribution of *gult* land ownership was also extended to women. Women with *gult* lands were usually members of the royal family but there are documents which state that widows or daughters of nobles and soldiers also owned such land. While royal princesses were able to bequeath their *gult* lands to individuals of their choice, at times, without any mention of approval by the sovereigns in the charters, other people were deprived of such privilege and the renewal of land was solely left to

¹⁴⁴ Beckingham and Huntingford (1954): p. 72.

¹⁴⁵ Beckingham and Huntingford (1954): p. 72.

the sovereigns.¹⁴⁶ Usually, *gult* lands were renewed in full to the family of the deceased, men and women alike, by the sovereigns;¹⁴⁷ but, as already mentioned, there are instances where a tenth or two-thirds of the *gult* lands were granted by the sovereigns to other individuals.¹⁴⁸ Influential ladies were also able to deprive other individuals of their land. In situations such as these misuses of influence and power in society, sovereigns interfered by restoring the land to owners, or upon their death, to their children. *Emäbét*¹⁴⁹ Mäläkotayet, for example, took the land of an Egyptian named *Basha* Dowed and a certain woman named Sarweha but it was later restored to *Abéto* S'ähayä Leda, who may have been their son, by an unnamed emperor, who stated: "It is his *rest*".¹⁵⁰ There is also an instance where *Wäyzäro* Wälättä Täklä Haymanot, who was perhaps the same woman referred to in another document as the daughter of *Ras* Mika'él,¹⁵¹ took a *rim* land of the Church of Ledäta belonging to *Qés* Adané by force.¹⁵² However, when Hélla, the son of *Qés* Adané appealed to Emperor Yohannes II (1769) saying, "I have been deprived of my father's *rim* land", the Emperor referred the case to the adjudication of *Ras* Mika'él and the *rim* land was finally restored.¹⁵³ However high the social origin of barren women, their *gult* and *rim* land was confiscated by the sovereigns upon their death until 1903, when Emperor Menelik II (1889-1913) proclaimed that they were able to bequeath it to their relations or any other person of their choice.¹⁵⁴

Minority groups, such as Muslims and foreigners also held *gult* and *rim* lands. The earliest reference to the ownership of *gult* land by a Muslim is preserved in a charter which states that Emperor Fasilädäs granted Addi Geddi in Tigray as *gult* to a certain *Hajji* Seddi.¹⁵⁵ Later on, the same charter goes on to state that, despite dispute

¹⁴⁶ 150(P.L.d.11.) and B. L. Or. 777, 7v.

¹⁴⁷ 63(P.L.a.18.) and 86(P.L.a.41.).

¹⁴⁸ 68(P.L.a.23.), 70(P.L.a.25.) and B. L. Or. 829*, 47r.

¹⁴⁹ I.e., Lady.

¹⁵⁰ B. L. Or. 777, 4r.

¹⁵¹ 151(P.L.d.12.).

¹⁵² 255(L.D.7.).

¹⁵³ 255(L.D.7.).

¹⁵⁴ Mahteme Sellassie Wolde Maskal (1942 A.M.): pp. 72 and 896.

¹⁵⁵ 249(L.D.1.).

regarding the ownership of the *gult* land during the reign of Emperor Iyasu ?I, it was renewed by the sovereign to, perhaps his descendant, *Nägadras* Habb. According to the charter of Emperor Iyasu II, a piece of land at Wäyna, which was held by *Hajji* Gäddo and *Liqä Mäzämran* Demét'eros was taken away from them by the same sovereign and was granted to *Däjazmach* Arkélédes.¹⁵⁶ There are also documents which confirm that Muslims continued to own *gult* lands in the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Century. According to the charter of Emperor Hezqeyas, pasture land at Angäräb was granted to *Basha* Saleh in 1790/91 and he was authorized by the same sovereign to provide 150 *wäqét* of incense to the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé.¹⁵⁷ Another notable individual, referred to in a charter as *Hajji* Saleh was granted a modest income of a tax of 1 *ch'an* of cereal from a piece of land at Därräsgé by Emperor Egwalä S'eyon.¹⁵⁸ Finally, Emperor Egwalä S'eyon also granted a piece of land, which apparently was previously owned by *Ras* Abdeyé, to a certain Mädsaleh.¹⁵⁹ The charter goes on to state that an additional land of *ch'äwa*¹⁶⁰ and *äläqa* was granted to him by the same sovereign. Medsaleh, was, however, authorized to sew, probably vestments, at the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé.¹⁶¹ Moreover, there are records which state that Muslims also held *rim* lands of the Churches of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé and they were required to supply the church with incense.¹⁶² Foreigners, who are almost consistantly identified in the charters as Egyptians, held *rim* lands in the Churches of Däbrä S'ähay Qwesqwam and Däbrä Berhan Sellasé. The Egyptians, who had become part of the society through marriage were also allowed to sell their *rim* lands.¹⁶³

Having looked at an overview picture of the ways and means of securing private ownership of land and the administrative machinery of the State, it is also

¹⁵⁶ 63(P.L.a.18.).

¹⁵⁷ 95(P.L.a.50.).

¹⁵⁸ 104(P.L.a.59.).

¹⁵⁹ 105(P.L.a.60.).

¹⁶⁰ Lay peasants who were mobilized as soldiers during war-time.

¹⁶¹ 105(P.L.a.60.).

¹⁶² B. L. Or. 777, 282v. and 287r.

¹⁶³ B. L. Or. 776, 12r., 269r., B. L. Or. 777, 287v., etc.



important to analyze the basis for the underlying Church and State relations regarding the stringent systems of control to land ownership and access to an entitlement of taxation from it. To start with, *gult* land ownership by the Church was held *in perpetuum* and there is no document in the Collections which mentions the withdrawal of such right to land by the sovereigns. Nevertheless, church *gult* lands were occasionally exchanged or simply transferred to another church. The exchange of church *gult* lands was carried out by the sovereigns, perhaps, at the request of the clergy for land in the vicinity of their church or for fertile land and, as Emperor Iyasu I noted, land which was not regularly affected by drought.¹⁶⁴ According to a charter of Emperor Iyo'as I and Empress Mentewab, the lands of Jema, Wañfiata and Qéro were granted to the Church of *Qeddus* Giyorgis at Mos'a.¹⁶⁵ However, the land of Qéro was later exchanged for Agam Weha by Emperor Sälonon II.¹⁶⁶ There is also a record of a transfer of *gult* land ownership from one church to another church without any explanation. Emperor Lebnä Dengel is reported to have granted "several fields" in Dayän and Bäshälo to the Church of Maryam at S'ägwa.¹⁶⁷ However, these fields were later taken away from the Church of Maryam by Emperor Gälawdéwos, who granted them instead to another church dedicated to Sellasé "so that what used to belong to a *tabot*, could [now also] belong to [another] *tabot*".¹⁶⁸ What is not entirely clear here is the situation which led Emperor Gälawdéwos to deprive one church of its land and bestow it to another. The transfer of *gult* land ownership from one church to another was unusual unless the church which initially received the *gult* land had been abandoned over the years by the local people due to unfortunate circumstances. Emperor Iyo'as II, for example, granted "the lands, whose people migrated and whose churches were ruined", as *gult* to *Däjazmach* Maru.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁴ 15a(C.L.a.15a.).

¹⁶⁵ 26(C.L.a.26.).

¹⁶⁶ 30(C.L.a.30.).

¹⁶⁷ 7(C.L.a.7.).

¹⁶⁸ 7(C.L.a.7.).

¹⁶⁹ 106(P.L.a.61.).

The structures of the churches' hierarchy and their services were clearly laid down and thus in the case of historical and favoured churches, the sovereigns made extensive grants of *gult* lands in order to continue their services without financial strain. Thus, the revenues from land which the State granted as *gult* to churches were divided among people who served in it. Each person who took responsibility in the services of a church became a *rim*-holder. A person who was unable to serve in a church was allowed to hire a person to serve in his stead.¹⁷⁰ Such entitlement to revenue from a *rim* land was given to individuals on a hereditary basis and, thus, they had the right to bequeath or sell it to others provided a recipient or a buyer of a *rim* continued to take over a specified duty in a church. In this sense, *rim* lands were portions of privatized church *gult* lands. According to lists of *rim*-holders, which are incidentally preserved in several manuscripts in the Collections, the numbers varied from church to church but there are documents which contain over 100 names.¹⁷¹ Sovereigns and bishops are among the persons listed as *rim*-holders in several churches in Gondar. Unfortunately, instead of providing up-to-date periodic lists, this process involved the insertion of names by erasing that of the original *rim*-holder and it is thus difficult at times to identify the obliterated names without considerable reliance on similar other rotas and notes. Although it was the responsibility of church officials to distribute *rim* lands among a number of people who took turns to provide Mass and prayers throughout the year, there were times when sovereigns interfered directly in the allocation of such lands in favour of others. The sovereigns not only granted unallocated *rim* lands to individuals but they also reallocated such lands by taking them away from people who happened to fall out of favour. On a few occasions, however, there are charters which record the reallocation of *rim* lands to individuals by perhaps weaker sovereigns with the permission of the *däbtära(s)* of churches. Emperor Sahlä Dengel, for example, is

¹⁷⁰Gebre Wold Ingida Worq (1962): p. 309.

¹⁷¹B. L. Or. 487, 202v., B. L. Or. 776, 269v. - 270v., B. L. Or. 777, 287r., etc.

recorded as having reallocated such *rim* lands to individuals and “the *däbtära* have given their permission”.¹⁷²

Finally, the most important observation which can be made regarding these land documents in the Collections is that State *gult* land grants both to the Church and individuals from the reign of Emperor Amdä S’eyon to Emperor Täklä Haymanot II continued in the same manner with a maximum of four *gult* land grants to either churches or individuals in any particular reign. Nonetheless, from the reign of Emperor Täklä Haymanot II to the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel, there was a sharp increase of *gult* land grants to individuals compared with similar land grants to churches. This sudden shift of granting *gult* land to individuals while ignoring the Church could be explained by the political upheaval which began to limit the power of the sovereigns in the last quarter of the Eighteenth century. During this period, known as the Era of the Princes, the monarchy was in great difficulty as its authority was significantly reduced by provincial nobles. The decline of the Emperor's power was characterised particularly by the gradual increase of the influence of the Gallas or Oromos in controlling the central government at Gondar. During this period of immense turmoil and constant war, influential nobles who had helped enthrone an emperor were granted numerous *gult* lands as a reward for their political support. The Church's support to the State seems to have been kept in equilibrium by the renewal of its already granted *gult* lands by the sovereigns. The power of the monarchy was, however, restored during the reign of Emperor Téwodros II. Incidentally, it is worth noting that there is no charter of *gult* land grants either to churches or individuals in the Collections by Emperor Téwodros II; nor is there any mention of interference by the same sovereign in the allocation of *rim* lands to individuals in these Collections.

¹⁷² 129(P.L.b.20.).

VIII. The Language

The majority of the texts studied here are in Amharic but there are a few in Ge'ez. The latter are copies of earlier charters, while the majority of the Amharic texts appear to be contemporaneous, or nearly so, with the manuscripts in which they appear. Thus, the Amharic material, because of its date (particularly Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries) is interesting for the light it throws on the history of the language. For instance, the language of the texts contains a large number of non-standard forms both in script, phonology, morphology and syntax, which are described below. This section is not offered as a thorough study but is designed rather to alert linguists to some of the fascinating aspects of late Ge'ez and early Amharic texts for further detailed investigation of the manuscripts.

1. Script and Spelling

The style of the documents is difficult to follow owing to overpunctuation, the punctuation itself being unsystematic. The documents also show a variety of ornamented punctuations. The scribes of the texts do not distinguish ቸ and ቸ. This is, perhaps, reminiscent of the frequent confusion of ተ and ተ as is well known occurs in Ge'ez manuscripts of an earlier period. There are also numerous variant forms of ዙ, which is also a frequent feature of an earlier Amharic scribal practice. In what follows, I shall itemize some more unusual aberrant character shapes.

1.1. Aberrant Character Shapes

We note the texts contain various aberrant character shapes.

- ረ ለመድረግ ተጽዕኖ (i.e., ለመድረግ ተጽዕኖ) 61(P.L.a.16.).
- ሸ ሸለሐ (i.e., ?ሂለሐ) B. L. Or. 481, 124v.; ሸላም (i.e., ሂላም) Cambridge Add. 1570, 261v.; የሸላ፡ዘመድ (i.e., የሂላ፡ዘመድ) Cambridge Add. 1570, 261r.
- ሸ ሸዝቅያስ (i.e., ሸዝቅያስ), በመጽሐፍ (i.e., በመጽሐፍ) B. L. Or. 799, 3v.
- ሸ ጃሸጃሸ (i.e., ጃሸጃሸ) 17(C.L.a.17.).

- ሻ** ብሻል (i.e., ብሏል) 138(P.L.c.9.), ብሻት (i.e., ብሏት) Cambridge Add. 1570, 261v.
- ሐ** ስነጽንግላ (i.e., ስነጽንግል), ገዛቶዋል (i.e., ገዛተዋል) B. L. Or. 776, 2r.
- ማ** ሹማምቱ (i.e., ሹማምንቱ) B. L. Or. 776, 4r.
- ሸ** ለባ፡ወልደ፡ኪርሸ፡ (i.e., ለ[እ]ባ፡ወልደ፡ኪርሸ፡), አባ፡ወልደ፡ጊዮርጊሽ፡ (i.e., አባ፡ወልደ፡ጊዮርጊሽ፡) B. L. Or. 776, 12v.; አሽከ (i.e., አሽከ) B. L. Or. 637, 2r.
- ሸ** በአጼ፡ተክለ፡ጊዮርጊሽ፡ (i.e., በአጼ፡ተክለ፡ጊዮርጊሽ፡), አሽመለሱት (i.e., አሽመለሱት), እንደአጼረርሽ (i.e., እንደአጼረርሽ), ወሽደውት (i.e., ወሽደውት) B. L. Or. 637, 2r.
- ቀ** ቀልፍ (i.e., ቁልፍ) B. L. Or. 624, 2r.; በቀስቋም (i.e., በቀስቋም) 90(P.L.a.45.), 261(L.D.13.) and B. L. Or. 776, 10r.; የቀስቋም (i.e., የቀስቋም) B. L. Or. 776, 12r. and 272r.
- ቀ** ቀስጤ (i.e., ቁስጤ B. L. Or. 777, 3r.) B. L. Or. 777, 287r.; የቀስቋም (i.e., የቀስቋም) B. L. Or. 776, 8r.
- ቁ** የቁስቋምን (i.e., የቀስቋምን) 166(P.L.d.27.); የቁስቋምና፡የፋሲለደስ፡ (i.e., የቀስቋምና፡የፋሲለደስ፡) B. L. Or. 776, 1v.
- ቀ** የቀስቋምን (i.e., የቀስቋምን) 191(Cr.L.10.).
- ቱ** ሱማምቱ (i.e., ሹማምንቱ) B. L. Or. 776, 273v.
- ት** አሽጉለቱት (i.e., አሽጉለቱት) B. L. Or. 637, 2r.
- ቶ** አለቃ፡ንጋቶ፡ (i.e., አለቃ፡ንጋት፡) B. L. Or. 776, 273v.
- ቸ** መጽናቸ (i.e., መጽናቹ) B. L. Or. 776, 268v.; ደብተሮቹ (i.e., ደብተሮቹ) B. L. Or. 776, 12v.
- ዞ** አሞቹ (i.e., አሞቹ), መጪናቹ (i.e., መጪናቹ) B. L. Or. 776, 4r.
- ቸ** ምስክሮቹም (i.e., ምስክሮቹም) B. L. Or. 777, 1v.; ደብተሮቹ (i.e., ደብተሮቹ) 237(L.S.b.5.) and B. L. Or. 777, 1v.
- ቸ** ደብተሮቹ (i.e., ደብተሮቹ) B. L. Or. 799, 212r.
- ኃ** ታገኘው (i.e., ታገኘው) B. L. Or. 576, 5v.
- ኘ** ቀኘ፡ጌታ፡ (i.e., ቀኘ፡ጌታ፡) 210(L.S.a.14.).

- ኘ ቅሬኝ (ቅሬኝ, 19th Cent., i.e., ቅሬኝ) B. L. Or. 777, 17v.; ቀሬኝ (ቀሬኝ i.e., ቅሬኝ), መልክኝ (i.e., መልክኝ) 186(Cr.L.5).
- ኘ ታኾረውን (i.e., ታኾረውን) B. L. Or. 776, 2r.
- ኘ ቀኘጌታ (i.e., ቀኘጌታ) 9(C.L.a.9.); ቀኘጌታ (i.e., ቀኘጌታ) 270(L.D.22.); በቀኘዕ (i.e., በቀኘ) 9(C.L.a.9.); ወበቀኘዕ (i.e., በቀኘ) B. L. Or. 650, 7v.
- ኘ ቀኘጌታ (i.e., ቀኘጌታ) B. L. Or. 776, 2r.; ቀኘጌታ (i.e., ቀኘጌታ) B. L. Or. 776, 273v. and B. L. Or. 799, 8r.; ቀኘጌታነት (i.e., ቀኘጌታነት) B. L. Or. 745, 14r.
- ኘ እሰየኩኝ (i.e., እሰየኩኝ), ቀኘጌታ (i.e., ቀኘጌታ) B. L. Or. 776, 4r.
- ኘ መጫረኝ (i.e., መጫረኝ) B. L. Or. 776, 12r.
- ኘ ሰፈጋዝ (i.e. ዘርእሰ) B. L. Or. 777, 11r.
- ኘ በአደረገሽው (በአደረገሽው i.e., ባደረገሽው) B. L. Or. 576, 4v.
- ኘ ከዛዝ (i.e., ከ[እ]ዛኹ) B. L. Or. 777, 285r.
- ኘ እዛዝ (i.e., እዛኹ) B. L. Or. 776, 271r.
- ኘ ባዛዝ (i.e., ባዛኹ) B. L. Or. 508, 283r.; እዛዝ (i.e., እዛኹ) B. L. Or. 799, 215v.
- ኘ ፖዜ (ፖዜ i.e., ፖዜው) B. L. Or. 776, 9r., 9v., 271v. etc.; ፖዜዎ (ፖዜዎ i.e., ፖዜውዎ) B. L. Or. 776, 12r.; ፖናዜ (i.e., ፖናዜ) 150(P.L.d.11.).
- ኘ ፖዜ (ፖዜ i.e., ፖዜው) B. L. Or. 776, 9r., 12r., 271v., etc.
- ኘ እዛዝ (i.e., እዛኹ) 16(C.L.a.16.), 38(C.L.b.2.), 62b(P.L.a.17b.), etc.
- ኘ ፖዜ (ፖዜ i.e., ፖዜው) B. L. Or. 745, 4r., B. L. Or. 776, 3v., B. L. Or. 799, 215v., etc.; እዛዜን (i.e., እዛዜን) 73(P.L.a.28.).
- ኘ ፖዜ (ፖዜ i.e., ፖዜው) B. L. Or. 776, 2v.
- ኘ ፖዜ (ፖዜ i.e., ፖዜው) B. L. Or. 776, 1r.
- ኘ ፖዜ (ፖዜ i.e., ፖዜው) B. L. Or. 776, 3r.
- ኘ ፖዜ (ፖዜ i.e., ፖዜው) B. L. Or. 776, 3r.
- ኘ የደዢዝኖች (የደዢዝኖች i.e., የደጃዝኖች) 70(P.L.a.25.).
- ኘ የዢንጽሬርጌታ (i.e., የዢንጽሬርጌታ) 46(P.L.a.1.).

- ዞ** ምዞጥ (i.e., ምዞጥ) 10(C.L.a.10.); በጌዞጥ (በጌዞጥ i.e., በጌጃጥ) 16(C.L.a.16.); ዞንጃ (i.e., ዞንጃ) 33(C.L.a.33.), B. L. Or. 778, 6r., 7r., etc.
- ዘ** ከዘጸ (ከ[እ]ዘጸ i.e., ከእዘጸ) B. L. Or. 776, 18v.
- ዘ** እዘጸ (i.e., እዘጸ) B. L. Or. 799, 4v.
- ኸ** በኸጭንጽ (i.e., በኸጭንጽ) 198(L.S.a.2.); እዘኸ (i.e., እዘጸ) B. L. Or. 799, 4v.
- ዘ** ገዞጥ (ገዞጥ i.e., ገዞጥ) 198(L.S.a.2.); እዘገጥ (i.e., እዘገጥ) 194(Cr.L.13.); እዘገጥ፡እዘገጥ፡ (i.e., የእዘገጥ፡እዘገጥ፡) 16(C.L.a.16.).
- የ** ከረየ (i.e. ከረየ) 148(P.L.d.9.); ዳኖየን (i.e.ዳኖየን) 161(P.L.d.22.).
- ጄ** ቀጄ፡ጌታ፡ (cf. በቀኝጄጌታ 213(L.S.a.17.) and ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ B. L. Or. 776, 3v. i.e., ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡) B. L. Or. 799, 87r.
- ጽ** በጸረጽ፡ግሰረ፡ (በጸረጽ፡ግሰረ፡ i.e., በጸረጽ፡ግሰረ፡) 186(Cr.L.5); እጽረ (i.e., እንጂረ) Appendix.C.L.2.
- ፲** ፲ብረከሳሴ (i.e., ገብረሥሳሴ) B. L. Or. 776, 270v.; ፲ዝቶእል (ገዝቶእል i.e., ገዝቷል) B. L. Or. 776, 271r.
- ፲** እናጦዳ (i.e., እንግዳ) B. L. Or. 776, 270v.
- ጫ** ጫል (i.e., ጫል) B. L. Or. 799, 214r.; የጫቸውን (i.e., የጫቸውን) B. L. Or. 799, 212v.
- ፵** ጽፍል (i.e., ጽፍል) B. L. Or. 776, 9v.
- ሐ** ሐል (i.e. ጽፍል) B. L. Or. 778, 9v.; ጽሐል (i.e., ጽፍል) B. L. Or. 776, 273r. and 274v.
- ሻ** ግጫ የሰሻቱን (i.e., ግጫ፡የሰሻቱን፡) B. L. Or. 776, 270v.; ጽሻል (i.e., ጽፍል) B. L. Or. 508, 222v., B. L. Or. 776, 2r., B. L. Or. 799, 213v., etc.; ጽሻል (ጽፍል i.e, ጽፍል) B. L. Or. 776, 268v., 271v., 273r., etc.; ጽሻዋል (ጽፍዋል i.e., ጽጠዋል) 202(L.S.a.6.).
- ሽ** ጽሻል (i.e., ጽፍል) B. L. Or. 778, 4v.; ጽሻል (i.e., ጽፍል) B. L. Or. 776, 268v.; የጽሻቸውን (i.e., የጽጠቸውን) B. L. Or. 776, 7r.
- ሺ** ጽሺል (i.e., ጽፍል) B. L. Or. 778, 4v.

- ሸ ሸሾል (i.e., ሸሸል) B. L. Or. 776, 269r.; ሸሸል (i.e., ሸሸል) B. L. Or. 776, 270v.; ሸሸል (i.e., ሸሸል) B. L. Or. 777, 19r.; ሸሸልል (i.e., ሸሸል) B. L. Or. 776, 273r. and 274v.; ሸሸልል (i.e., ሸሸል) B. L. Or. 776, 269r. and 273v.
- ሸ ሸሸልል (i.e., ሸሸል) B. L. Or. 776, 273r.
- ሸ ሸሸሮች (i.e., ሸሸሮች) B. L. Or. 776, 268v.
- ሸ ሸሸው (i.e., ሸ ሸው) B. L. Or. 776, 2r.
- ሸ ሸሸው (i.e., ሸሸ ሸው) B. L. Or. 776, 10r.; ሸሸ ሸሸው (i.e., ሸሸ ሸው) B. L. Or. 776, 2v.
- ሸ ሸሸ (i.e., ሸሸ) B. L. Or. 799, 5r.
- ሸ ሸሸው (i.e., ሸሸው) B. L. Or. 604, 44v.
- ሸ ሸሸረፍ፡፡፡ (i.e., ሸሸረፍ፡፡፡) B. L. Or. 777, 9v.
- ሸ ሸሸረፍ፡፡፡ (i.e., ሸሸረፍ፡፡፡) B. L. Or. 776, 2v.
- ሸ ሸሸ (i.e., ሸሸ) 122(P.L.b.13.).
- ሸ ሸሸች (i.e., ሸሸች) B. L. Or. 777, 285v.
- ሸ ሸሸተፍ፡፡፡ (i.e., ሸሸተፍ፡፡፡) B. L. Or. 799, 3r.
- ሸ ሸሸተፍ፡፡፡ (i.e., ሸሸተፍ፡፡፡) 24(C.L.a.24.).
- ሸ ሸሸ፡፡፡፡፡፡፡ (i.e., ሸሸ፡፡፡፡፡፡፡፡) 230(L.S.a.34.).
- ሸ ሸሸ (i.e., ሸሸ) B. L. Or. 776, 9v.
- ሸ ሸሸረ (i.e., ሸ ሸረ) B. L. Or. 604, 44v.; ሸ ሸሸረ (i.e., ሸ ሸረ) 268(L.D.20.); ሸሸረ (i.e., ሸ ሸረ) B. L. Or. 777, 17r.; ሸ ሸሸረረ (i.e., ሸ ሸረረ) B. L. Or. 514, 223v.; ሸሸ (i.e., ሸ ሸረ) B. L. Or. 777, 17v.; ሸ ሸረ (i.e., ሸ ሸረ) B. L. Or. 776, 274v.; ሸ ሸረ (i.e., ሸ ሸረ) B. L. Or. 777, 4r.; ሸ ሸረ (i.e., ሸ ሸረ) B. L. Or. 776, 3v. and B. L. Or. 777, 9v.; ሸ ሸረ (i.e., ሸ ሸረ) 268(L.D.20).
- ሸ ሸረ (i.e., ሸረ); ሸረ (i.e., ሸረ) 5(C.L.a.5).

1.2. Double Vocalic Notation

In the following forms double vowel marked characters appear to be representative of some form of elementary grammatical analysis. As in አለቅነት¹⁷³ for አለቅነት (i.e., አለቃ + ነት).

Similarly:

መጽፍቸው ¹⁷⁴	መጽኑ	+	-achäw.
ልጆችን ¹⁷⁵	ልጆች	+	-é
ልጅቱ ¹⁷⁶	ልጅ	+	-itu
መጽኑቱ ¹⁷⁷	መጽኑ	+	-i + -u
እናቱ ¹⁷⁸	እናቱ	+	-i + -u
ልጆች ¹⁷⁹	ልጅ	+	-och
አለቃች ¹⁸⁰	አለቃ	+	-och
ለሁለቱ ¹⁸¹	ለሁለት	+	-u
መሰክርት ¹⁸²	መሰክርት	+	-u
ኪማግሎች ¹⁸³	ኪማግሎች	+	-u
ንጉሥ ¹⁸⁴	ንጉሥ	+	-u
የቀቅ፡አጽማጅን፡ ¹⁸⁵	የቀቅ፡አጽማጅ፡	+	-u
የጋሻ፡እኩልን፡ ¹⁸⁶	የጋሻ፡እኩል	+	-u
ያውቃል ¹⁸⁷	ያውቃል	+	u

¹⁷³ B. L. Or. 508, 278r. and B. L. Or. 799, 211r.

¹⁷⁴ B. L. Or. 776, 9v.

¹⁷⁵ B. L. Or. 576, 5r.

¹⁷⁶ B. L. Or. 777, 14r.

¹⁷⁷ B. L. Or. 799, 211r.

¹⁷⁸ B. L. Or. 776, 1r.

¹⁷⁹ 250(L.D.2.) and B. L. Or. 776, 12r.

¹⁸⁰ B. L. Or. 777, 2v.

¹⁸¹ 147(P.L.d.8.).

¹⁸² B. L. Or. 776, 2r., 10v., 12r., etc.

¹⁸³ 271(L.D.23.) and B. L. Or. 529, 197r.

¹⁸⁴ B. L. Or. 777, 17r.

¹⁸⁵ 108(P.L.a.63.).

¹⁸⁶ B. L. Or. 776, 274r.

¹⁸⁷ B. L. Or. 776, 268v.

ደብተርኙ ¹⁸⁸	ደብተርኙ	+	-u
ያውቋሉ ¹⁸⁹	ያውቁ	+	አሉ
ደብረውሉ ¹⁹⁰	ደብር	+	-u + ውሉ (i.e., ሁሉ).

1.3. Ligatures

In the texts, there is frequent use of 'ligatures', namely where two letters are joined together. I do not regard this as aberrant since the practice has continued and is accepted today.

E.g.

1. ኅይለ፡እግዚእ (i.e., ኅይለ፡እግዚእ).B. L. Or. 776, 3v. and 10v.; ኃይለ፡እግዚእ፡ (i.e., ኃይለ፡እግዚእ፡).B. L. Or. 776, 9r.
2. ብእሴ፡እግዚእ ብሔር፡ (i.e., ብእሴ፡እግዚእ ብሔር፡) 55(P.L.a.10.).
3. አምሃ፡ኢየሱስ፡ (i.e., አምሃ፡ኢየሱስ፡) B. L. Or. 776, 12v.
4. አውግዘዋል (አውግዘዋል i.e., አውግዘዋል) 106(P.L.a.61.).
5. ከላኝብየ (i.e., ከላኝትብየ) B. L. Or. 776, 268r.
6. ወልደ፡እግዚእ ብሔር፡ (i.e., ወልደ፡እግዚእ ብሔር፡) 266(L.D.18.) and B. L. Or. 776, 1v., 10v., etc.
7. የግዜር፡ከብት፡ (የግዜር፡ከብት፡ i.e., የግዜር፡ከብት፡) 197(L.S.a.1.); የእግዜር፡ከብት፡ (i.e., የእግዜር፡ከብት፡) B. L. Or. 777, 5r.

1.4. Scribal Errors

As in many manuscripts, there are many scribal errors, a few of which are listed below.

For example:

¹⁸⁸ B. L. Or. 604, 7r., B. L. Or. 777, 16v. and B. L. Or. 829*, 51r.

¹⁸⁹ B. L. Or. 776, 2v.

¹⁹⁰ B. L. Or. 776, 2r.

1. ለለወለደት (i.e., ለወለደት) 145(P.L.d.6.).
2. ሞሳክሮቸ (i.e., ምሳክሮቸ), ወልልደ (i.e., ወልደ), ወድያእያ (i.e., ወድያ) 257a(L.D.9a.).
3. ሰሱ (i.e., ሰሉ) 272(L.D.24.); ሰጮቹ (i.e., ሻጮቹ) 235(L.S.b.3.); ስተጥ ተዎሉ (i.e., ስጥተዋል) 67(P.L.a.22.).
4. በሃይማኖት፡በሃይማኖት፡የሄደውን፡ (i.e., በሃይማኖት፡የሄደውን፡) 92(P.L.a.47.); ብሉ (i.e., ብሉ) 254(L.D.6.).
5. እስከ፡እስከ፡እንሰት፡ (i.e., እስከ፡እንሰት፡).33(C.L.a.33.).
6. ከልተው (i.e., ጎልተው).87(P.L.a.42.).
7. የሚሰጡትን (i.e., የሚሰጡትን) 100(P.L.a.55.); የጉብዙትን (i.e., የጉዙ ትን) 218(L.S.a.22.).
8. ደብተሮቹ (i.e., ደብተሮቹ) 221(L.S.a.25.) and 222(L.S.a.26.).
9. ጎርጌራ (i.e., ጎርጎራ) 98(P.L.a.53.);
10. ፈረደባቸው (i.e., ፈረደባቸው) 271(L.D.23.).
11. ፪ት (i.e., ፪) 228(L.S.a.32.); ፯ት (i.e., ፯) 246(L.S.b.14.); እ፪ት (i.e., ፪) 225(L.S.a.29.); ፱ጠኙ (i.e., ፱ኙ) B. L. Or. 776, 10v.; እ፯ (i.e., ፯) B. L. Or. 777, 8r.

However, there are instances where the errors are partially corrected by the scribes.

For example:

1. ሰጥቻለሁ (ሰጥቻለሁ i.e., ሰጥቻሉህ)155(P.L.d.16.).
2. ቅስቋም (i.e., ቀስቋም) 89(P.L.a.44.).
3. በሰራፍ (i.e., በሰራፍ) 13(C.L.a.13.).
4. አቅሰነገረዋል (i.e., አስነገረዋል) 38(C.L.b.2.); አንገደህ (i.e., አንገደህ) 260(L.D.12.).
5. ኩልክሙ (i.e., ኩልክሙ) 4(C.L.a.4.).
6. ውጉዝ (i.e., ውጉዝ) 61(P.L.a.16.).
7. ገራ (፳ጉ)ጌታ፡ (i.e., ገራ፡ጌታ፡) B. L. Or. 776, 273v.

2. Phonology

2.1. **ጸ/ፀ** for **ጠ**.

This well known sound correspondence, where **ጸ/ፀ** appears in place of standard Amharic **ጠ** is well represented in the material. This alternation between **ጸ/ፀ** and **ጠ**, of course, is dialectally conditioned as well as representing a sound change in progress.

For example:

1. **መጽተው** 71(P.L.a.26), B. L. Or. 777, 5r. and 5v.; **መጽቶ** 113(P.L.b.4.); **ጠመፁ፡ጊዜ** 155(P.L.d.16.); **ጠመጸ፡ጊዜ** 160(P.L.d.21.); **ጢመጸ** 258(L.D.10.); **ጢመጸ** 254(L.D.6.).
 2. **ጣላንፃዎ** 256(L.D.8.).
 3. **ጢቁጽሩ** B. L. Or. 575, 104v.
 4. **እጸጉብ** 87(P.L.a.42.).
 5. **ወፅቶ** and **ወፅተው** 109(P.L.a.64.); **እወጸሁ** 154(P.L.d.15.); **እውፁልኝ** and **እውፅተው** 165(P.L.d.26.); **እውፅቼአሁ** 260(L.D.12.); **ያውጸ** 147(P.L.d.8.). **እንደወጸ** 250(L.D.2.).
 6. **ዕዓ** and **ዕዓቸውም** 265(L.D.17.); **ዕዓዋን** 181(P.L.d.42.) and 268(L.D.20.); **ዕዓዓን** 156(P.L.d.17.).
 7. **የተመረጸቱ** 271(L.D.23.).
 8. **ጸላተዎን** 88(P.L.a.43.); **ተጸልተው** 267(L.D.19.) and 271(L.D.23.); **ተጸልቶ** 265(L.D.17.).
 9. **ፀሩ** 270(L.D.22.); **ጸርተውለት** 260(L.D.12.); **ጢጸሩ** 271(L.D.23.).
-
1. **ተረግመው** 194(Cr.L.13.) and B. L. Or. 784, 209r.
 2. **ያስጣረው** B. L. Or. 636, 4r.

2.2. There are examples of assimilated **ን**.

E.g.

1. ሹግጽቱ 234(L.S.b.2.) and 238(L.S.b.6.).
2. አዳፈርከ 264(L.D.16.); አዳፈርከ 40(C.L.b.4.), B. L. Or. 638, 274v and B. L. Or. 673, 199r.
3. ወበፋ 62b(P.L.a.17b.), 65a(P.L.a.20a.) and 149(P.L.d.10.); ወበፎችጽ 82(P.L.a.37.).
4. ወበዴ B. L. Or. 576, 5v.
5. ወድመዎ 72(P.L.a.27.); ወድግኝው B. L. Or. 776, 10v.
6. ዕዳትነኩት B. L. Or. 514, 223v.

2.3. Non-standard phonetic process

A few words seem to show unusual phonetic processes, such as regressive assimilation (i.e., ጠጠኝ¹⁹¹ for ሸጠኝ) i.e., regressive assimilation of the glottal and stop features of ጠ upon ሸ which becomes ጠ (i.e., glottal affricate); abnormal palatization (i.e., ጀታ¹⁹² and ጀቶኝ¹⁹³ for ጌታ and ጌቶኝ).

2.4. There is a curious case frequently repeated of the devoicing of gä to kä in the word ገዝተዋል, i.e., appearing as ከዝተዋል.

E.g.

1. ከዝተዋል B. L. Or. 776, 4r., 9r. and 9v.; ከዝቶዋል B. L. Or. 776, 271r.
2. ከዢ B. L. Or. 776, 9r.

2.5. Preservation of Laryngals.

¹⁹¹ B. L. Or. 604, 3r.

¹⁹² Cambridge Add. 1570, 264v. and B. L. Or. 777, 6r.

¹⁹³ B. L. Or. 776, 10r.

We note in the texts that the laryngals are maintained where standard modern Amharic drops them.

E.g.

1. መጽሐፍ B.L. Or. 799, 212v.; ምንጃልባት B. L. Or. 776, 5r.
2. በምሉዕጌታ፡ Cambridge Add. 1570, 261r., 265r., and 267v.; በከብዓት፡ ብር፡ Cambridge Add. 1570, 265v.; በአለ፡ርከቶቹ፡ B. L. Or. 604, 104r.; በአለ፡አገርቹ፡ B. L. Or. 745, 14v.; በአጸገ-ብ፡የአሉትን፡ B. L. Or. 636, 4r.
3. አልአልፍልኸም 215(L.S.a.19.); አንበአሰል 183(Cr. L.2.); አንደአዶረርከ B. L. Or. 776, 272r.; አንደ፡አዶረርከ፡ 101(P.L.a.56.), 194(Cr.L.13.) and B. L. Or. 784, 209r.; ዕንደ፡አዶረርከ፡ 249(L.D.1.).
4. አንደአዶረቅ 79(P.L.a.34.).
5. የበአለ፡ሰአታት፡.11(C.L.a.11.); የትአዘዘው 123(P.L.b.14.); የደጋአ፡አቀጽአ፡ 1(C.L. a.1.).
6. ጽኑዕ B. L. Or. 575, 107v. and B. L. Or. 576, 6r.
7. ፍቸሐ 186(Cr.L.5.) and 188(Cr.L.7.).

2.6. There are a few examples of initial prothetic *አ/ዕ* before r.

E.g.

1. አረምሃ B. L. Or. 776, 9v.; አረምሐ B. L. Or. 604, 132v.; አረምታ 111(P.L.b.2.), 115(P.L.b.6.) and Cambridge Add. 1570, 263r.
2. አረታው Cambridge Add. 1570, 261v.; አረትተው 272(L.D.24.).
3. አረዲቱ 243(L.S.b.11.); አርዲኝ 165(P.L.d.26.).
4. አረም 20(C.L.a.20.), 111(P.L.b.2.), 114(P.L.b.5.), etc.; ዕረም 210(L.S.a.14.); B. L. Or. 508, 285v.; B. L. Or. 604, 3r., etc.
5. አራከ 16(C.L.a.16.), 109(P.L.a.64.) and 145(P.L.d.6.).
6. አራቴን 155(P.L.d.16.).
7. አርከቱ 251(L.D.3.).

8. አርቦ B. L. Or. 776, 1r., 268r., 271v., etc.; አርቦው Cambridge Add. 1570, 264v.
9. አርአከ፡ጽብር B. L. Or. 776, 271r. and B. L.Or. 777, 4v.; ዕርአከ፡ጽብር፡ B. L. Or. 776, 10v. and 269r.
10. የቅዱስ፡አረፋሌልን፡አረፍ፡ B. L. Or. 799, 86v.

3. Morphology

3.1. Plurals.

The normal Amharic plural in -och regularly appears but there are some defective writings.

E.g.

ወመልከኛት 5(C.L.a.5.).

ወመልከኛት 48(P.L.a.3.) and 182(Cr.L.1.).

ወመልከኛት 183(Cr.L.2.)

There is one example of an Amharic reduplicated plural: ቡግግት 22(C.L.a.22.), 132(P.L.c.3.) and 270(L.D.22.).

3.2. Object Marker

There are examples where the Amharic direct object marker appears in texts written in Ge'ez only. The modern Amharic form is, of course, -ን, but the Ge'ez texts have ነ (i.e., as in old Amharic). In these Ge'ez texts, however, it only appears added to place names.

1. ሐልቋኝነ Appendix C.L.2.; ሐሶትነ 50(P.L.a.5.).
2. መአሰነ 182(Cr.L.1.).
3. ሰባነ 51(P.L.a.6.).
4. ተጽበኮነ 50(P.L.a.5.).

5. ኒባነ 5(C.L.a.5.).
6. ከጽበትነ 4(C.L.a.4.).
7. ዋላትነ 6(C.L.a.6.).
8. የአባ፡ሊባኖከነ፡ 6(C.L.a.6.).
9. ገረነ 1(C.L.a.1.).

Another interesting example of an Amharic grammatical element occurring in the Ge'ez texts is the use of the genitive particle **የ** instead of Ge'ez **ዘ**.

For Example:

የመቀዳ፡አቀጽጽ፡ and የዳኻ፡አቀጽጽ፡ 1(C.L.a.1.).

Similarly, the Amharic preposition **ከ** occurs instead of Ge'ez **እጽ** in :

፫መስረርያ፡ከእጽበት፡፫መስረርያ፡ከበስቃ፡ ... ከበኒና፡ወቅዋና፡ 49(P.L.a.4.).

3.3. Demonstrations.

Various non-standard forms of the demonstratives appear particularly in plural forms:

E.g.

1. በሊህ 190(Cr.L.9.), Cambridge Add. 1570, 260r., 264v., etc.; በሌላ
Cambridge Add. 1570, 261r. በኒህ B. L. Or. 776, 1v. and 12v.; በኔህ
B. L. Or. 776, 1v.; በእኔህ 157(P.L.d.18.).
2. እለዚህ B. L. Or. 776, 10v.; እለዚኸን 78(P.L.a.33.); እሊህ
221(L.S.a.25.), 231(L.S.a.35.), B. L. Or. 776, 270v., etc.; እሊኸ B. L.
Or. 729, 1r.; እሌህ B. L. Or. 633, 142v., B. L. Or. 777, 10r., B. L. Or.
799, 2r., etc. እኒሁ B. L. Or. 776, 1r.; እኔህ 31b(C.L.a.31b.); እኔህን
31a(C.L.a.31a.).

3. የሊኸን 166(P.L.d.27.); የሌህን B. L. Or. 549, 144r.

3.4. Polite 3rd person reference

There are examples of -ዎ with the 3rd person polite reference.

E.g.

1. ለልጆቹዎ 86(P.L.a.41.); ለረሰዎ 101(P.L.a.56.).
2. ስላነሃሃዎ and ስላጸኖዎ 88(P.L.a.43.).
3. በሊቃውንቶችዎ 74(P.L.a.29.).
4. ነዎ 75(P.L.a.30.), 98(P.L.a.53.), 100(P.L.a.55.), etc.
5. የሰጡዎ 106(P.L.a.61.) and 109(P.L.a.64.); የጎለቱለዎ 77(P.L.a.32.)
and B. L. Or. 829*, 47v.; ያጸኑለዎ B. L. Or. 829*, 47v.

In standard Amharic, of course, -ዎ has nowadays has 2nd person polite reference.

3.5. Compound tenses

There are many examples of compound tenses. Of particular interest are those where, for example, in the 3rd plural (compound gerundive) both the gerundive and the auxiliary element are fully inflected. Thus,

1. እዲም፡ጾቴንም፡ ... የሊቄ፡ኃይሉ፡ስጥቶዋሉ፡ቀስቋም፡ጾቀድሱበት፡በሉዋሉ፡
66(P.L.a.21.).
2. ፲፪ቱም፡ኹማም፡ትጸብተረውም፡ሁሉ፡ስጥቶአሉ፡ 132(P.L.c.3.).
3. አቡንም፡እጢንም፡ገዝተዋሉ፡ 91(P.L.a.46.).

4. Syntax

There frequently are examples of apparent lack of concord between the gerundive and a following main verb.

For example:

1. እሞሀይ፡ ብርሌ፡ ረማን፡ ... ለሊቄ፡ ሁሉንታ፡ ልጅ፡ ለተክለ፡ ማርያም፡ ዘመዶሳው፡
ብሉ፡ ሰጡ፡ 45(C.L.b.9.).
2. እዪ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ ቀድከበት፡ ብሉ፡ መለሱለት፡ 82(P.L.a.37.).
3. የደጃእዝማች፡ ደረሶ፡ ለልጅዎ፡ ደብተርቹ፡ ይገባዋል፡ ብሉ፡ ሰጥተዋል፡ 131(P.L.c.2.).
4. ገዳማዊ፡ ማሞ፡ እረመዎን፡ ለወሰን፡ ገናክንደስ፡ እንደ፡ ሰጡ፡ ልጅሳው፡ ብሉ፡ እጅግ፡ ከ
ብት፡ እለብኝ፡ ብለው፡ 142(P.L.d.3.)

ብሉ may be intended to represent the sound of ብለው rather than being a fixed 3rd m.s. form.

For example:

1. ወይዘሮ፡ ወለተ፡ ሸሌል፡ ባዪ፡ እኖላለሁ፡ ማንም፡ ሰደጋ፡ ጋሻ፡ ጭቃ፡ እይምረባቸው፡
ለሸት፡ ለጎመን፡ ይሁናቸው፡ ብለው፡ ሰጥተው፡ በንጉሥ፡ ቃል፡ እዋጅ፡ እስካገረዋል፡
38(C.L.b.2.).
2. በዳብሎም፡ ጫን፡ ያዪ፡ ቆሎ፡ የጀገረ፡ ማማን፡ ለሸለቃ፡ ተዝካሮ፡ ደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡
ቀድከበት፡ ብለው፡ እዪ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ስጡዎ፡ 83(P.L.a.38.).
3. አለቃ፡ መጽሔት፡ ደብተርቹ፡ ሁሉ፡ እዴ፡ ይመቱ፡ ብለው፡ ሸጠዋል፡
233(L.S.b.1.).

There is also a frequent reversal of the normal subordinate and main clause ordering.

For example:

1. ለርእሰ፡ ደብር፡ ሱራ፡ በብናፋ፡ እዪ፡ እያሱ፡ ይቴጌ፡ ምንትዋብ፡ ቀስቋም፡ ይቀ[ድሱ]በ
ት፡ ብለው፡ የስጡዎ፡ ያራት፡ ሸማ፡ ምድር፡ ሳው፡ 61(P.L.a.16.).
2. በዚህ፡ በርስተዎ፡ ላቤት፡ ወርቁ፡ ልደታ፡ ቀድከበት፡ ብለው፡ እዪ፡ እኖላለሁ፡ ማንም፡ ሰደጋ፡ ጋሻ፡ ጭቃ፡ እይምረባቸው፡
69(P.L.a.24.).
3. ለመምሕራን፡ ወልደ፡ አቢብ፡ በዘመነ፡ ሉቃስ፡ እዪ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ በቅዱስ፡ ገብርኤል፡
ይቀድሱ፡ ብለው፡ ሰጥተዋል፡ 74(P.L.a.29.).

4. ፪ ምድር፡ተቅረና፡ካባ፡ዋካ፡የተገዛውን፡ለሊቄ፡ኒረት፡እዪ፡ጌሌ፡ሠጥተዋል፡
119(P.L.b.10.).

Postponed subjects.

There are also instances where the subject follows the main verb.

For example:

1. ፳ ምድር፡በሰራባ፡ጋሻ፡ጃገራ፡ነቅለው፡ለባ[ሳ]ንበረከ፡እሸቴ፡ደብረ፡ብር
ን፡ዶቀደከበት፡ብለው፡ሰጡ፡እዪም፡ዶቴጌም፡ 65a(P.L.a.20a.).
2. ዶላን፡የፋቀ፡በሥልጣነ፡ጴጥርስ፡ወደውሎስ፡ውጉዝ፡ያድርገው፡በለዋል፡
እቡንና፡እጤጌ። 73(P.L.a.28.).
3. ባርዋረን፡ባክቹ፡ና፡በነጮ፡ጭቅነት፡ያለውን፡ምድር፡ኮንቲባ፡ቅንዎት፡ቀስቋም፡
ዶቀድከበት፡ብሎ፡ከጥተዎሉ፡እዪ፡ኢያሱ፡ዶቴጌ፡የተመኙ፡ 89(P.L.a.44.).
4. የወደዘር፡ወለተ፡ኪዳንን፡የዳዊት፡ደጋግውን፡እረም፡ለእባ፡ኃይሎ፡ሰጥተዋል፡ደብረ
ም፡እለቃውም፡ 135(P.L.c.6.).

CHAPTER TWO

CHURCH LAND

As far as the origin of church land is concerned, there are the two land charters of Abreha and As'beha, the two brothers who reigned at the time of the formal establishment of the Church, relating to the Church of Maryam S'eyon at Aksum.¹ Looking at the work of Conti Rossini, Huntingford and the hitherto unpublished land charters in the Collections, it is clear that the tradition of granting lands to churches continued in the later years, with more enthusiasm at some times than others. The extensive granting of church land appears to have taken place at the time of the Solomonic restoration in the late thirteenth century. Around 1270 A.D. King Na'akuto Lă'ab, the last of the Zagwé Kings, was persuaded to abdicate in favour of Emperor Yekuno Amlak (1270-85) who claimed a direct descent from King Solomon. The change of dynasty is claimed to have been affected by the involvement of church clerics led by *Abunä Tăklä Haymanot*, the founder of the Monastery of Dăbră Libanos in Shewa, who was afterwards made a saint. Ethiopian manuscripts state that Emperor Yekuno Amlak "gave to *Abunä Tăklä Haymanot* the third part of his kingdom".² However, in reference to this statement, Bruce writes that an agreement was reached between King Na'akuto Lă'ab and Emperor Yekuno Amlak whereby "one-third of the kingdom should be appropriated and ceded absolutely to the Abuna himself, for the maintenance of his own state, and support of the clergy, convents, and churches in the kingdom".³ This period, Bruce goes on to say, "became afterwards an era, or epoch, in Abyssinian history, called the Era of Partition".⁴ Leaving the agreement of the two sovereigns aside, there is doubt whether this alleged land was granted to the Church at

¹ Huntingford [1965a]: p. 29.

² Pankhurst R. (1966): p. 63.

³ Bruce (1813): p. 448.

⁴ Bruce (1813): p. 448.

all. It is apparent that the Church, throughout its existence, was in constant need of *gult* lands and there is no evidence to suggest that it actually owned anything approaching a third of the country. Instead, the Church relied on the sovereigns' piecemeal grants rather than any specified original allocated land.¹

Although some churches *gult* lands were subjected to renewal by successive sovereigns, the grants of these *gult* lands have generally stayed rigid. Almost all the land charters indicate the pronouncement of an anathema to deter an emperor and officials of the State from taking the *gult* lands from the Church. There is no indication of any violation of the ordinance of *gult* land grants, either by the sovereigns or by officers of the State except, on two occasions where church *gult* land, as already mentioned, was exchanged with a sovereign and the ownership of another church *gult* land was transferred by a sovereign to another church.² Here, the reader is kept in the dark as an explanation for the exchange and transfer of the *gult* lands is not recorded in the charters. Nevertheless, Bruce writes:

It is a fundamental constitution of the monarchy of Ethiopia, that all lands belong to the king; and that there is no such thing as church-lands in this country. Those that the king has given for the maintenance of churches or monasteries are resumed every day, at the instance of, and for the convenience of individuals, and new ones granted in their stead sometimes of a greater value, sometimes of a less. Nor have the priests or monks any property in these lands. A lay-officer, appointed by the king, divides to each monk or priest, his quota of the revenue, applying any overplus to other uses, which is, we may suppose, often putting it into his own pocket.³

Indeed, there is evidence to show that the Church was in constant fear of its land being taken away from it not only by the sovereigns but also by envious individuals who wished to own church *gult* lands for themselves. In one instance, in an attempt to deter such individuals, the clergy of the Church of Hamärä Noh in Gondar wrote: "Let whoever stands [in front of an emperor] saying: 'as from now, let the land of Ch'ela⁴ be for tax [to the State and] give it to me' be anathematized by the words of the apostles and the 300 [Just Fathers]".⁵ There is also a case in which the *däbtära(s)* of the Church

¹ Pankhurst R. (1966): p. 28; Kidane Mengisteab (1990): p. 50.

² 7(C.L.a.7.) and 30(C.L.a.30.).

³ Bruce (1790): II, p.356.

⁴ The land of Ch'ela was granted to the church by Emperor Téwoflos; see 17(C.L.a.17.).

⁵ B. L. Or. 508, 280v.

of Mädhane Alām in Gondar were assaulted by the people of Bucha when the *däbtära(s)* claimed 8 *meder* and 2 *bota* belonging to Azazh Alado, all of which land were allotted to the *däbtära(s)* "because of the 8 *wäqét*" of gold.¹ The people of Bucha also refused to appear in court after they assaulted the *däbtära(s)*.²

The need for *gult* land ownership greatly varied from church to church. The requirement for ownership of *gult* land by a monastery, for example, is greater than an ordinary church. Many monasteries served as centres of learning. Due to this reason, the monastic community required a constant income from its *gult* land in order to facilitate its operation more successfully. Moreover, in the case of the more privileged churches, as will be seen below, the land which they received from the State as *gult* was divided mainly amongst the clerics who, in return, took turns to serve in their respective churches throughout the year. Individuals including the sovereigns also held *rim* lands but they were required to hire people to serve in their stead. The clergy and the *däbtära(s)* relied on the *rim* lands for their livelihood. The *rim* lands brought to them an income of cereals or a payment in kind from the people who farmed the *gult* lands. The usual payment for a *rim* land holder in a church is a fifth of the produce of the land, but in some cases it even amounted to a third or two-thirds of the produce depending on the agreement of the clerics and the farmers.³

¹ B. L. Or. 518, 173r.

² B. L. Or. 518, 173r.

³ 11(C.L.a.11.), 12b(C.L.a.12b.) and 34(C.L.a.34.).

I. State Land Grants

The earliest land charter in the Collections (Appendix C.L.1.) is that of the Sixth Century Emperor Gäbrä Mäsqäl, who granted land as *gult* to the Monastery of S'eyon Däbrä Anbäsa, which is located about 15 k.m. north west of Makelle.¹ Wright confuses Emperor Gäbrä Mäsqäl with the later Emperor Amdä S'eyon, who happened to adopt the name Gäbrä Mäsqäl as his reign name.² However, Emperor Amdä S'eyon's five land charters in the Collections fail to mention him by his reign name. While the Aksumite Emperor stated in his charters: "I, King Gäbrä Mäsqäl", the Fourteenth Century sovereign stated: "I, King Amdä S'eyon". Unlike the charters of the above-mentioned sovereigns, this particular one (Appendix C.L.1.) is preserved in Amharic. It must be noted, however, the charter characteristically starts in Ge'ez but almost immediately switches over to Amharic. A close scrutiny of the charter reveals vital clues: its wording and style of writing is strikingly similar to that of the Aksumite Emperor Gäbrä Mäsqäl.³ According to the charter, it was written on 20th Mägabıt, in the Era of Marqos during the reign of Emperor Fasilädäs. Furthermore, the same charter states that it was renewed by Emperor Täklä Giyorgis. The word "thirdly" in the charter refers to the events which necessitated its writing: the time when the land was initially granted and the later renewals by Emperor Fasilädäs and Emperor Täklä Giyorgis. The fact that the charter was renewed and written during the reigns of Emperor Fasilädäs and Emperor Täklä Giyorgis implies that there might have been a dispute over these lands and that it perhaps required renewal by the sovereigns. The inclusion of an anathema against the Chief of Ahsä'a by the two bishops, *Abunä Matéwos* and *Abunä Mäqares*, who were buried there, and, surprisingly enough, by 20 abbots and 40 priests not to interfere in the administrative affairs of the lands is perhaps also an indication of this.

¹ In 1968, the Abbot of this monastery told me that "The Aksumite Emperor Gäbrä Mäsqäl built the church and gave several lands as *gult* to it". When I asked him for more historical information about his monastery, he also said: "Two Egyptian bishops were buried there".

² Wright, (1877): p. 6.

³ See charters by the same Emperor in the work of Huntingford (1965a) on page 30.

As far as the Zagwé period is concerned, there is a charter (Appendix C.L.2.) which refers to the *gult* land grant made by the Twelfth Century Emperor Lalibäla to the Church of Egzi'abhé Ab. The charter states that the land of Halqwaho was granted to this church as *gult*. Later on, the same charter was renewed by Emperor Yekuno Amlak (1270-85) who also authorized further material gifts to the above mentioned church - a gift for twelve feasts, which for example, included 1,000 *enjära*, 2 large loaves of bread and 2 jars of *t'älla*. The charter goes on to state not only the renewal of the charter by Emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob but also the prohibition of governors, a *qalä has'é* and other State officials, from interfering with this arrangement.

Emperor Amdä S'eyon granted (C.L.a.1.) the land of Gera as *gult* to the Church of Batérgéla Maryam. The word *ka'ebä* in the charter indicates that the region of Gera was granted to the church in addition to an earlier grant of land by the same sovereign. However, the manuscripts, which are at present the subject of this study, fail to make any reference to an earlier grant. While the tax of Gera is specified and the officer and the deputy officer of this land is mentioned as Baché and Zéna Krestos, it is not entirely clear whether the tax of Dasha Aqwes'e'e and Mäqida Aqwes'e'e is included in the tax of Gera. The fact that the local officers, Habtu and Bähaylä Mika'él, are mentioned strengthens the argument that they were within the larger administrative area of Gera. Although the charter fails to mention the local officer of Dägä'a Aqwes'e'e, it simply lists the tax, for example, as 2 *dawela* of cereal and 27 *shämma* to be paid presumably every year, as opposed to the monthly payment of 8 bars of salt and 8 measures of *fés'o*. It is important to note the classification of the area of Aqwes'e'e into three zones according to the climate. While the word Däga'a is taken to mean *dägga*¹ as Modern Amharic would have it, Dasha and Mäqida may thus indicate the description of the regions according to altitude and climate. The variation of taxation due to the zone may also reflect the productivity of the land and the economic occupations of the local people. Thus, looking at the tax of Daga'a Aqwes'e'e, the immediate observation is that the highlanders seemed to be good at making clothes. Moreover, it is interesting to

¹ It is high and perpetually cold land and is generally over 7000 feet.

note that the charter is written in such a way that all the lands mentioned there are situated in the same region because the charter states that the area was divided into two spiritual administrative regions - the lands below, or simply the low lands, being under the supervision of *Liqä Kahnat* Yoséf and the lands above, the highlands, being under the other *Liqä Kahnat*, Amha Läs'eyon.

Emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob not only followed in Emperor Yekuno Amlak's footsteps in renewing lands to the Church of Egzi'abhér Ab, but he also granted (C.L.a.2.) additional *gult* land to the same church. Apart from this renewal (Appendix C.L.2.) Emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob drew up three charters of his own. Two, however, survive only in brief form. These two land charters indicate that the lands of Bäsqa and Kämät were granted as *gult* to the Church of Egzi'abhér Ab. The charter which records the grant of the land of Bäsqa (C.L.a.2.) is simply dated 31 A.M. instead of 1431 A.M. (1438/39 A.D.). What is so striking about this particular charter is that it is written under the heading of "In the Gospel of Egzi'abhér [Ab]". The reference to the Gospel, here, is meant to indicate that this particular manuscript, which incidentally includes both the Old and New Testaments, is treated as "The Golden Gospel". The other charter of the church from the same sovereign (C.L.a.4.), however, states that the land of Kämät was granted to the church in order to support the *aqabé sä'at* of the left and the right "so that they may continue to serve the church, performing the horologium of the day and the night without interruption". The charter also goes on to state that the community of Israel (i.e., Felasha) were authorized to serve the two *aqabé sä'at* as serfs and also to make sure that the houses of their two masters were properly erected. Here, it is interesting to note that this is the earliest reference in the Collections to the *aqabé sä'at*, the second highest rank after *ech'ügé* for native Ethiopians in the Church's hierarchy. The third charter by the same sovereign (C.L.a.3.) is by far the most detailed of all. Apart from being carefully dated, it gives the location of the place where the Sovereign was staying at the time when the *gult* land grant was made. Furthermore, it gives a deeply-felt explanation as to the reasons why this generous *gult* land grant was made to the Monasteries of Däbrä Maryam and Däbrä Bizän. The Sovereign

granted *gult* lands to the above-mentioned monasteries “so that they may preach and affirm the faith”. The charter ends with an unusually moving exhortation - “preach and teach. We have handed down [the responsibility] from our head and placed it on to you”. Moreover, despite the widely held view that the reigning emperors of this time married several wives purely for political reasons, it is clear from the charter that this particular sovereign had only one wife as there is a prayer included in the charter for his mother, wife and his children.¹ The supremacy of the monarch is apparent in the charters because all of them fail to mention witnesses and, what is more, they also fail to include a threat of excommunication.

Emperor Lebnä Dengel granted (C.L.a.5.) the land of Niba as *gult* for the provision of feast for the clergy of the Church of P’äraqlit’os. While the taxation from the land is specified as being 30 measures of honey, the amount of grain to be given to this church was simply stated as “several” measures. The charter stresses that this particular ordinance was not to be violated and states that it was put under a threat of excommunication. This charter is, in a sense, unique in the Collections because it lists bishops alongside with kings and State officials as potential violators of the ordinance. Looking at the list of the contemporary officials of the State, it is interesting to notice that the position of the *qalä has’é* was held by a cleric by the name of *Abba Bäseru*. Another charter (C.L.a.6.) records *gult* land grants of Wallat and Yä’abba Libanos to *Liqä Kahnat Fasilädäs* by the same sovereign so that these *gult* lands may be a source of income to a Church of Maryam which he was to establish at Zämarho. The same charter also states that Emperor Gälawdéwos renewed the ordinance of “his father”. Similarly, Emperor Lebnä Dengel, in another charter (C.L.a.7.), granted “several fields ... from Dayän up to Bäshälo” to the Church of Maryam at S’ägwa. However, the same charter goes on to state that the *gult* lands were later taken away from the Church of Maryam at S’ägwa by Emperor Gälawdéwos, who granted them instead to another church dedicated to Sellasé. The fact that this new ordinance was announced before the Felasha in front of the State officials, such as S’äga Berhan, implies that the lands

¹ Täklä S’adeq Mäkwerya (1966 A.M.): p. 130.

were found in their locality. The major weakness visible in Emperor Lebnä Dengel's charters is that they fail to be specific in what was actually given; instead, the payment of cereal, for instance, was simply stated in one of his charters (C.L.a.5.) as "several" measures. This lack of specification of tax in the charter might easily have been an omission by the writer, who might have intended greatly to exaggerate the amount of the tax grant to the church. It is thus not surprising to note that *Liqä Kahnat* Fasilädäs "had this [ordinance] written down at the bottom of [the text of] the Gospel as an appendage". The manuscript which contains the original charter is not found in the Collections, but a copy of it does survive in the Seventeenth Century Bible.¹ The original Manuscript used to belong to the Church of Egzi'abhér Ab in the Amba Geshän, where the royal heirs to the throne were detained during this time.

Emperor Särs'ä Dengel granted (C.L.a.9.) the land of Däbri as *gult* to the Monastery of *Abba* Harra. The reign name Mälak Sägäd was also used by his successor Emperor Ya'eqob (1597-1603). However, since the word "*aziz*", which means great or mighty, precedes the reign name and since Emperor Särs'ä Dengel reigned for 34 years and Emperor Ya'eqob only for six years, it may be the former sovereign who is referred to in this charter. As the charter states, the Chief of Redamot was authorized not to interfere in the administrative affairs of Däbri. Moreover, there is a charter written by the order of "Mälak Sägäd the Great" which states the renewal of "the *gult* [land] of the Gospel, which was granted during the reigning years of King Zär'a Ya'eqob and also during [the reigning] years of [Emperor] As'enaf Sägäd (Gälawdéwos)".² What this charter does not state, however, is to which church the *gult* land was renewed. The fact that it was written in "The Gospel", is not by itself adequate: as this study shows, it was quite common for churches and sovereigns to have the grant of *gult* lands written down in the Gospels of several churches.³ What

¹ B. L. Or. 481.

² B. L. Or. 650, 7v.

³ Unfortunately, it cannot be established to which church the manuscript (B. L. Or. 650) originally belonged. The fact that the manuscript preserves two copies of the charter by Emperor Iyasu I to the Church of Kidanä Mehrät Däbrä Enqwe is not sufficient enough to imply ownership of the manuscript by the same church.

the reader is clearly told, however, is that an anathema was pronounced against the *S'ähafä Lam* of Shewa in order that he might not interfere in the administrative affairs of the *gult* land in question.¹ Thus, the land granted was found in what was then the administrative region of Shewa.

Emperor Fasilädäs granted (C.L.a.10.) the lands of Zägra, which included eight regions, as *gult* to *Qés A'edawä Krestos'* Church. *Qés A'edawä Krestos* is referred to in the charter as the brother of an *Ech'ägé Abba Zäkrestos*, the son of Abalä Krestos. This particular church, it seems, was not consecrated in the name of *Qés A'edawä Krestos* but he might have helped to raise funds to build a church as, for instance, the *Liqä Kahnat* Fasilädäs did with the Church of Zämarho Maryam.² What is so spectacular about this charter, however, is the magnitude of the *gult* land, which apparently consisted of eight villages in the region of Gera. The grant of these *gult* lands was made on 10th Genbot 1655 A.M. (1663 A.D.) during the Era of Luqas while the sovereign was at Aringo. The Chiefs of Begemedar were authorized not to interfere in the administrative affairs of the regions of Gera, which are specified as S'änkälä, S'aqät', Mezhat', Qashät', Bedaqos, S'ädda, Shetu Dur and Guza. The charter stresses the grant of this vast estate by listing the lands for a second time, which was, perhaps, intended to remind people of the conditions and regulations of the ordinance. The importance of the grant of the *gult* land is further evidenced by the long list of high-ranking officers of the State as witnesses. These lands were granted to the church as *gult* by the Sovereign so that it may be "for the salvation of our soul and body".

Emperor Fasilädäs, in a second charter (C.L.a.11.), is also reported to have granted 102 *meder* to the Church of Se'el Bét³ during the tenure of office of *Aläqa Zägiyorgis*. There is also a charter (C.L.a.12a.) which records the grant of several hundred specific measures of *gult* land by the same sovereign to the Church of Mädhané Aläm. Another similar charter (C.L.a.12b.) and two other brief notes, are

¹ B. L. Or. 650, 7v.

² 6(C.L.a.6.).

³ Royal Chapel.

also preserved in the same manuscript.¹ These charters of the Church of Mädhane Alām provide lists of the owners of lands and the payment of tax to the church. Unlike the first charter (C.L.a.10.), which is written in Ge'ez, the other three charters and two brief notes are written in Amharic and, thus, they appear to reflect an early use of Amharic in place of Ge'ez. Indeed, Emperor Fasilädas' Amharic charters introduce hitherto unknown terms like *bota* and *meder* to signify a total departure from a more general gift of lands which were described only as including an entire village or district. As these charters indicate, the Church of Mädhane Alām was granted pieces of land or fields as *gult*, the tax of which was given to the church in the form of grain and salt.

Emperor Yohannes I granted (C.L.a.13.) the land of Mätaro as *gult* to the Monastery of *Abunä Mäzra'että Krestos*, which is also known as *Däbrä Maydur*. The *gult* lands granted to the monastery are stated as A'edago, May Qis'abo, Ambay Däqa and Bä'at Meder and the reason for his granting of these lands was stated as for the salvation of his body and soul. Furthermore, the same charter goes on to state that an anathema was pronounced against the Chief of Asgädi in order not to interfere in the judicial affairs in the regions of Särafo, S'a'eda Amba, Sebt'a, Amba Dänso and Gwädgwäda Lāham. The affairs of justice were entrusted to the Abbot of the Monastery. Another charter by the same sovereign (C.L.a.14.) lists a grant of several measures of *gult* land to the Church of Kwer'attä Re'esu.² The charter starts in Ge'ez but finishes in Amharic and unlike the first charter (C.L.a.13.), where the grant of land included the entire villages, this particular one is merely a grant of a total of 115 *meder*. Thus, Emperor Fasilädäs' grant of pieces of land as *gult* was repeated by his son, Emperor Yohannes I. Emperor Yohannes' cautious approach in dealing with a grant of *gult* land and his hesitation to give an entire region as *gult* land was clearly manifested in the charter which states that "this is given for clearing the dust" of the church.³ The

¹ B. L. Or. 518, 15v.

² Lit., "The striking of His head"; a picture of Christ which was carried whenever the emperor went to war.

³ 14(C.L.a.14.).

inclusion of such a statement in the charter clearly indicates the awareness of the Sovereign of the relative insignificance of the grant of this *gult* land.

Emperor Iyasu I granted the land of Qwälläla (C.L.a.16.), which was previously in the hands of *Wäyzäro Säblä Wängél*, to the Church of Däbrä Enqwe. The charter states that the sovereign also added the lands of Henach'och to the same church. Regarding the grant of these *gult* lands, an anathema was pronounced by *Abunä Sinoda* and *Ech'ägé Yohannes* so that it might not be appropriated either by a king or a queen. Here, the inclusion of a queen in the charter as a possible potential violator of the gift is interesting. Although the charter is not dated, it lists several personalities of the time as witnesses and, as if this was not enough, the Sovereign, as already mentioned, had ordered a copy of this ordinance to be written in all church manuscripts.¹ Another Charter (C.L.a.15a.), called "History of King Iyasu" by its writer, *S'ähafé Te'ezaz Azazh Hawarya Krestos*, is a detailed account of the Sovereign's deeds and an extensive *gult* land grant to the Church of Sellus Qeddus - better known as Däbrä Berhan Sellasé - which the Emperor himself commissioned to be built in 1692. This charter, written partly in Ge'ez and partly in Amharic, is carefully dated and gives a vivid account of the sovereign's movements and displays Emperor Iyasu's devotion to this particular church. Moreover, there is a charter (C.L.a.15b.) which only repeats the names of the lands granted as *gult* to the church by the same sovereign without mentioning the size of the *gult* land as shown in another charter (C.L.a.15a.). While the lands of Wäyna, Sufanqära, Boch, Säqält, Janahoy, Bawa, Qobla, Jägwäl, Wawa, Gorgora, Säraba, Dablo, Qolla Säraqo and Käm kamba were given to the church in general, the lands of Walwaj and Enqash were given for a specific aim: "for the Eucharist, lamps, firewood and charcoal and also for his commemoration - the commemoration of the King". Alas, this mighty and generous Emperor was murdered by the order of his "beloved" eldest son Emperor Täklä Haymanot I (1706-08).² What is so special about this charter is that Emperor Täklä

¹ See also B. L. Or. 650, 16v. and 17v.

² B.L. Or. 821, 267v.

Haymanot I renewed 20 *meder* and 20 *bota* at Gorgora for the commemoration service of his father Emperor Iyasu I and the record which states the renewal of this *gult* land grant was later inserted between lines of the original charter of Emperor Iyasu I.¹ Perhaps, one of the most spectacular events of the period is displayed in the charters (C.L.a.15a. and C.L.a.15b.) by the statement that on top of the newly created position of *mäl'akä berhanat*, the Emperor also added the office of *neburä ed* of Aksum to the then newly appointed *aläqa* of the Church of Däbrä Berhan. As the office of *neburä ed* of the Church Maryam S'eyon at Aksum is understood to be higher in position *vis-à-vis* other churches in the country, the Sovereign, by appointing the *Mäl'akä Berhanat* to this office also, was simply elevating the status of his newly built church in the country.

Emperor Téwoflos granted (C.L.a.17.) several *gult* lands to the clergy of the Church of Hamärä Noh, which he commissioned to be built. While the grant of the *gult* land, which included the villages of Gwerizba, T'ahnä Arwa, Qällay, Kemarwa, Ers'enho, Sammi, Jahjjah, Ch'ela and 9 *meder* at Kämänti, were given to the clergy, the land of Ras Gäbaya was granted to the church for the purpose of supplying firewood for the preparation of the Eucharist. The grant of the above-mentioned *gult* lands were put under a threat of excommunication by *Abunä Marqos* and an unnamed *ech'ägé*, who was simply referred to as the *Mümher* of Däbrä Libanos. Although there is no trace of a land charter in the Collections by Emperor Yost'os (1711-16), Emperor Téwoflos' successor, there is a charter (C.L.a.18b.) by Emperor Dawit III, which states the grant of the lands of Dimma, Kinfaz, Mälat'a, Zärfent and Fent'ero as *gult* to the Church of Mika'él. However, there is also another charter (C.L.a.18a.) by the same sovereign, which gives a detailed list of incomes to an unspecified church from the same *gult* lands, which are listed in another charter (C.L.a.18b.).² As can be seen, the charter (C.L.a.18a.) is preserved in another manuscript (B. L. Or. 778) and, as

¹ The pieces of land at Gorgora were originally granted (C.L.a.15a.) by Emperor Iyasu I for his own commemoration services.

² B. L. Or. 778, 2r.

already pointed out, this manuscript belonged to the Church of As'as'amé Mika'él,¹ and thus not to another Church of Fit Mika'él in the same city of Gondar as surmised by Strelcyn.²

Emperor Bäkafa is reported to have granted *gult* lands to two churches and a monastery on four occasions. These charters, except for the few words at the beginning, were generally written in Amharic. Moreover, they are not dated and they also fail to list witnesses. One of the charters (C.L.a.19.) states that the land of Chänkär, which the Sovereign granted as *gult* to the Monastery of Anzabä Giyorgis, used to be his own *gult* land. According to the charter, the *gult* land of Chänkär consisted of 400 *meder*, two-thirds of which were allotted to the children of Abba Niqolawos and 33 *däbtära* so that they might chant the horologium, say the Mass and read the psalms. The same document goes on to state that a tax of one-third of the 400 *meder* at Chänkär was paid to the children of Abba Niqolawos, who are mentioned as Amday, Sert'ay and Sebhat. The other charter (C.L.a.20.) states the grant of three villages, namely Gulqwaba, Asbo and Färäs Qämäs, as *gult* to the Church of Qämmuj Kidanä Mehrät and to three individuals. While two-thirds of these lands were granted to 52 *dabtära* of the church as *rim*, the rest was given to Abreham, Fetha Aryam and Afro Aygba, who were told by the Emperor to celebrate Mass at the same church. The person who was responsible for dividing the lands amongst the beneficiaries was Azazh Tädésyos. Here, it is important to note that the word *rim* appears for the first time in this charter. Finally, there are two charters stating the grant of *gult* lands to the Church of Rufa'él by the same sovereign. According to a charter (C.L.a.21.), the Church of Rufa'él was granted a total of 491 *meder* as *gult* in four regions. The charter goes on to state that a land, which was in the hands of Fäntay, Wäyzäro Wälättä Hawaryat, Wäyzäro S'eyon Mogäsä, Sar Wäha, West'é, the brother of Wäyzäro Bayush, and Durri Mammo, was allotted to a total of 112 *däbtära* of the same church. The fourth charter (C.L.a.22.) by the same sovereign records the grant of the lands of

¹ For example: the *gult* land of Dimma was held as *rim* by individuals who served in the Church of As'as'amé Mika'él; see B. L. Or. 778, 4v., 6v., 8r., etc.

² Strelcyn (1974): p. 75.

Nobbi and Qäbäldin in S'ällämt as *gult* to the church. The tax from these *gult* lands in the region of S'ällämt, for example, included a total of 1,600 bars of salt and 24 *shämma*. While 1,000 bars of salt and 12 *shämma* were given to the *aläqa* of the church, 600 bars of salt and 12 *shämma* were given to the officers of the church. Emperor Bäkafa is also reported to have given Dädé's land, which was stated to be near the then Gemja Bét or the royal treasury in Gondar, to be used by the clergy of the same church for feasts during festivals. Moreover, the charter goes on to state that the Sovereign also granted land "from Dä räbo up to 4 Ensesa" for the 105 *däbtära* and an additional land at Darägendä for 15 *däbtära* of the same church.

Emperor Iyasu II followed Emperor Bäkafa, his father, in granting (C.L.a.23.) 110 *meder* as *gult* to the Church of Rufa'él. Moreover, the same sovereign and his mother the Empress Berhan Mogäsa or Wälättä Giyorgis, better known as Mentewab, granted (C.L.a.24.) extensive *gult* lands to the Church of Däbrä S'ähay Qwesqwam, which was commissioned to be built by them, now on the outskirts of Gondar. Besides the grant of *gult* lands, the Sovereigns also donated several vestments, carpets, Holy Books and Holy-Utensils made of gold and silver. A copy of the grant of this charter exists in two other manuscripts¹. While the charter (C.L.a.24.) is headed with the usual invocation, here, however, in Arabic, and most likely written by the Egyptian *Abunä* Krestodolu, another copy of the charter includes a later grant of *gult* land to the same church, which states that: "After this, we have [also] given [to the church], the land of Ebnat, Guramba, Bälläsa and Ch'ela so that it may be for the farmers who dig out water canals and water the church's plants which may be [used as] firewood for [the preparation of] the Eucharist".² The land of Bajäna, which was inhabited by the Galla but later allotted to the Zäwé, was granted as *gult* to the clergy of the church. Furthermore, the land of Gunter, which previously belonged to *Wäyzäro* Meslānteya was also granted to the same church for the preparation of the Eucharist. The land of Käch, however, was granted for the commemoration services of Emperor Iyasu II.

¹ B. L. Ors. 511, 3r. and 799, 3r.

² B. L. Or. 511, 3r.

The fact that the grant of the land of Käch appears in the charter makes it clear that the commemoration services of the Emperor were held at this church. The land of Qofaroch was granted to the same church as an exchange of land with the Sovereigns. The charter, however, fails to mention the land which the Sovereigns took in exchange and it also does not indicate the reasons for their doing so. According to another charter (C.L.a.26.), Emperor Iyasu II and Empress Mentewab granted the lands of Jema, Waññata and Qéro as *gult* to the Church of Mos'a Giyorgis, but the latter was later exchanged (C.L.a.30.) for Agam Weha by Emperor Sälonon II again for unspecified reasons.

Emperor Iyasu II's grant of land (C.L.a.25.) to the Church of Sellus Qeddus, which *Däjazmach* Arkälédes commissioned to be built, is not specified.¹ The charter simply states that the church, which was built at Qaroda, was given land by Emperor Iyasu II and an anathema was pronounced by *Ech'ägé* Täklä Haymanot and *Abunä* Krestodolu. Another charter by Emperor Iyasu II and Empress Mentewab, however, states that the land of Qaroda, which was already in the hand of *Däjazmach* Arkälédes, was given to the *Däjazmach* as *rest*² and he was authorized to provide an income for the celebration of Mass at the three churches which he commissioned to be built.³ One of the churches mentioned in the charter is the Church of Sellus Qeddus. Therefore, besides the grant of the an unspecified land at Qaroda, the church also received a constant additional income from the *Däjazmach*.

Emperor Takla Haymanot II granted *gult* lands to three churches. Firstly, the charter (C.L.a.29.) of the Church of Däbrä T'ebäb Bä'ata exists in five copies and lists several *gult* lands to the clergy of the church.⁴ The lands of Säräqärn and Aräbiya were amongst the *gult* lands granted to the clergy of the above-mentioned church. The detailed list of the *gult* lands shows that a total of 3,759 *meder* were granted from

¹ A copy of this charter preserved in another manuscript (B. L. Or. 777, 4r.) also fails to state the name of the land.

² The usage of the word *rest*, here, seems to imply that the land was initially given to the *Däjazmach* as a *restä gult* or hereditary *gult* because *rest* land is either given or confiscated but never renewed to individuals.

³ 60(P.L.a.15.).

⁴ B. L. Ors. 799, 4r.; 806, 144r.; 638, 247r.; 481, 209v.

nearly 30 villages. While the four copies of the charter contain lists of the lands, one of them, however, fails to include the 30 *meder* of Gumsärärgé.¹ Secondly, another charter (C.L.a.27.) states that the *gult* lands of *Wäyzäro* Marta and *Wäyzäro* Gänäta at Jangra S'eyon, which consisted of 110 *meder*, were granted by the same sovereign as *gult* to the Church of Pét'ros and P'awlos for the preparation of the Eucharist. A third charter (C.L.a.28.) also states that Emperor Täklä Haymanot II and his mother, Queen Abalä Maryam, granted the land of T'aqusa as *gult* to the clergy of the Church of Yohannes Wäldä Nägwädgwad, which is also known as Däbrä Tädla. Furthermore, the lands of Anbäs, Bamba, Zergi and Jargé were also granted to the church for the preparation of the Eucharist. Here, Emperor Täklä Haymanot II was known by the regnal name of Gerum Sägiäd, which was different from that mentioned in one of his charters (C.L.a.29.). The regnal name Gerum Sägiäd was, however, also used by Emperor Täklä Haymanot I.² Confusion is obviated by the mention of names such as Queen Abalä Maryam, *Abunä* Yosab, *Echä'gé* Täsfu and *Aqabé Sä'at* Täklä Haymanot, which prove that it was Emperor Täklä Haymanot II who is mentioned here. This charter, like the above-mentioned charters of the same sovereign, is not dated and fails to list contemporary dignitaries of the State. However, the charters record that a threat of excommunication was pronounced by the *Abun* and the *Ech'ägé* in connection with the grant of the *gult* lands.

Emperor Sälonon II granted (C.L.a.31a.) the land of Barko as *gult* to the Monasteries of Waldeba, Dalsheha and Tanash Bét. The same charter also states that the same sovereign granted the lands of Dengur and Amma Gérgis to lepers so that it might become a resting place for them. It is also important to note that a much shorter charter (C.L.a.31b.) also exists and mentions a region called T'äbla which one suspects is a smaller area in Dengur. Incidentally, the region of Dengur appears in the same charter as Debur. The second charter (C.L.a.32.) by the same sovereign states that the overall supervision of the Church of Delshet S'eyon and Abäkabot was entrusted to the

¹ B. L. Or. 481, 209v.

² Wright (1877): p. vii.

Church of As'as'amé Mika'él. The income for the supervision to the Church of As'as'amé Mika'él was specified as 5 *wäqét* and this income was authorized by the Sovereign to be used for the provision of raisins and incense in the church. According to the third charter (C.L.a.33.), the same sovereign granted the lands of Zhangwa, Qebrayäl, Yesaha, Gweyaha and Abeni as *gult* to the clergy of the Church of As'as'amé Mika'él. The same charter, however, specifies only the incomes from the lands of Gweyaha and Abeni as 14 *ch'an* of cereal and 5 *ch'an* and 1 *däl*¹ of cereal respectively. The charter goes on to state that he also granted an income of 4 *ch'an* of cereal from Mach'a and a further 4 *ch'an* of wheat and 50 bars of salt from Zefan for the preparation of the Eucharist at the same church. So that this ordinance might not be violated, *Abunä Yosab*, *Ech'ägé Täsfu* and *Aqabé Sä'ät Gäbrä Heywät* had pronounced an anathema whilst standing in the main square.

Emperor Täklä Giyorgis, who reigned six times between 1779 and 1800, renewed Emperor Fasilädäs' grant of tax (C.L.a.34.) from the land of Gubya to the *däbtära(s)* of the Church of Mädhané Aläm.² This brief charter states that Emperor Täklä Giyorgis proclaimed the renewal of the tax from the land of Gubya to the 24 *däbtära* of the church on 29th October 1781. There is, however, an interesting agreement between the *däbtära(s)* and the people of Gubya, which both parties concluded with an oath saying: "May the Emperor die". According to the agreement between the people of Gubya and the *däbtära(s)*, the charter goes on to state that the latter were entitled to two-thirds of the produce from the land if the former failed to pay the tax for five years. Furthermore, there is a charter (C.L.a.35.) which records Emperor Täklä Giyorgis' grant of a tax of 1 *wäqét* and 5 bars of salt to the Church of Bärägäja S'eyon. This income used to be paid to a *käntiba* and the Emperor is reported to have authorized the grant of this income to the Church of Bärägäja S'eyon so that it might be used for the supply of incense and a lamp at the same church.

¹ A basket holding 5 *qunna* of cereal.

² 12a(C.L.a.12a.), 12b(C.L.a.12b.) and B. L. Or. 518, 15v. However, the place appears here as Gubiya.

Moreover, there is a charter (C.L.a.36.) by Emperor Gigar which records a grant of a relatively small amount of income to the Church of Gemja Bét Maryam in Gondar. Emperor Gigar authorized the payment of a tax of 5 *ch'an* of cereal at Chänkär to be transferred to the Church of Gemja Bét Mayam to be used for the preparation of the Eucharist. The same charter goes on to state that a *bota* which is situated at Dabal Gänb was also granted to the people who served in the same church.

1. C.L.a.1. Amdä S'eyon to the Church of Batérgéla Maryam. 1314-44.

In praise of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. I, Amdä S'eyon, have additionally¹ granted the land of Gera to [the Church of] Batérgéla Maryam. And the tax of Gera [is] 97 measures of cereal, 78 [measures of] honey, 40 [bars of] salt, 2 cows, 10 chicken, 2 sheep, 50 basket lids, 50 ropes², 2 sickles, 2 chisel [and] 1 [bar of] iron.³ And the name of the officer of the land is Baché. And the name of the deputy officer of the land is Zéna Krestos. [The name of the officer of the land] of Dasha Aqwes'e'e [is] Habtu. [The name of the officer of the land] of Mäqida Aqwes'e'e [is] Bähaylä Mika'él. The tax of Däga'a Aqwes'e'e [is] 2 *dawela* [of cereal], 27 *shümma* and 4 *qerana*.⁴ And [bars of] salt and [measures of] *fés'o* [to be given] every month is 8 each. And the *Liqä Kahnat* for [the land] below [is] Yoséf and [the *Liqä Kahnat* for the land] above [is] Amha Läs'eyon. I have granted these [lands] as *gult* [to the Church of Batérgéla Maryam].

(B. L. Or. 481, 124r.)

2. C.L.a.2. Zär'a Ya'eqob to the Church of Egzi'abhér Ab. Dated 1438/39.

[Written] in the Gospel of Egzi'abhér [Ab].

The land of Bäsqä, which our King Zär'a Ya'eqob gave to [the Church of] Egzi'abhér Ab, in the Era of Luqas, the Apostle, in [14]31 A.M. (1438 A.D.).

(B. L. Or. 481, 124v.)

3. C.L.a.3. Zär'a Ya'eqob to the Monasteries of Däbrä Maryam and Däbrä Bizän.

Dated 1456.

In praise of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. This is the ordinance, which our King Zär'a Ya'eqob, named Qwästänt'inos, set up when he had reigned for 22 years. And the Year of Mercy from [the time of] Adam until this issue was written [is]

¹ This seems to indicate that the region of Gera was granted to the church in addition to an earlier grant of *gult* land. However, the manuscript fails to preserve the sovereign's earlier grant to the church.

² ሐፃዛ፡መገድ፡ instead of ሐፃዛ፡ገመድ፡.

³ ሐፅ፤ instead of ሐፃ፤.

⁴ Ms. Qwerana; Orig., "leather thong", later (18th Cent.) was also used to describe a measure of land.

6947. [It was written] when he was [in] the land of Kel'at. [It was] on 27th Yäkatit that he gave [gult] land to the children¹ of Ma'eqäbä Egzi'e so that they may preach and affirm the faith. The portion of [the Monastery of] Däbrä Maryam [is] Särawé and in S'erwagét, Bahrä Maryam and Durbéta - Eheya, Bägida, Gäm'ida, Hazo, Däsämo, Täro'a, Asäwerta, Medrä Barya in Dubäné and Kel'é Marya. And the portion of [the Monastery of] Däbrä Bizän [in] Hamasén [are] Hembert, Asmara, Sähart, Wäqärt, Baher Amba, Durbéta, Abreham and Wakito.² As much as he has appointed these lands for the preaching of the faith, may God afford him a life of many years. And may He (Christ) make the throne of his kingship enduring until He comes back in glory and destroys his rivals and enemies at once. May He make him the chief of kings both in this world and the world to come. And may He invite him to the feast of Mount Zion at the millennium. May He bless his mother, wife and children through the Holy Spirit. He is the blessed son of the Prophets' and the Apostles' teachings. He is shielded by the two wings of the virginity of Our Lady [Mary]³ from the corrupting Arwé. And May He hide him from the face of death. For ever and ever. Amen. So says our King Zär'a Ya'eqob: "O men of Däbrä Maryam and [Däbrä] Bizän⁴, as we are telling you - preach and teach, we have handed down [the responsibility] from our head and placed it on to you".

(B. L. Or. 481, 208r.)

4. C.L.a.4. Zär'a Ya'eqob to the Church of Egzi'abhér Ab. 1434-68.
Listen all of you - the community of Israel and the *däbtära* of the synogogue. I, Zar'a Ya'eqob, whose reign name is Qwäst'änt'inos, have given the land of Kämät to [the Church of] Egzi'abhér Ab so that it may be for those who serve during the night and also for the horologium. May the two *aqabé sä'at* of the left and of the right, whom we appointed as *aqabé sä'at* of the horologium of the day and the night, [serve] constantly

¹ I.e., the followers of the monastic rules and teachings of *Abunä* Ma'eqäbä Egzi'e.

² The current names of these villages are Hemberti, Säharti and Wäqärti.

³ The gap left by the writer was, perhaps, intended for the insertion of Mary in red ink.

⁴ Ms. Bézän.

without stoppage and may their serfs serve them and [also] may their houses be erected.

(B. L. Or. 481, 209r.)

5. C.L.a.5. Lebnä Dengel to the Church of P'äraqlit'os. 1508-40.

In praise of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. I, Wänag Sägäd, who is named Dawit by the grace of God, have granted the land of Niba as *gult* to the *Tabot*¹ of P'äraqlit'os for the times of feast. [Whatever] the King's words [are], let [them] be the words of the King. [This ordinance is established] in [the presence of] *Aqamba Yäwha Krestos*, *Shobher Jan Bäwäsän*, *Afä Aqamba Zéna Krestos*, *Mälkäñña Täklä Maryam* and *Näbiy* [and also] in [the presence of] *Qalä Has'é Azazh Abba Bäsäru*, *Zhan S'erar*² *Täklé* and *Fäntay*. Let whoever takes away and violates [this ordinance] even a king, or a bishop, or a governor, or a noble, or an officer of a land, or *aqans'an* be anathematized by the mouth of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and also by the mouth of Mary, the mother of [the] King, [and also] by the mouth of [the] 12 Apostles, the shining stars, [and also] by the mouth of [the] 15 Prophets, who are full of [the Holy] Spirit, and also by the mouth of the Just and the Martyrs, who defeated the Devil, and also by the mouth of the Watchers of Heaven, who praise the [Holy] Trinity. Let whoever drives out [the clergy] and violates [this ordinance] be driven off from God, the Prince's heart, and from [the heart of] Kidanä Mehrät, the Virgin Mary. May whoever listens [to this] with his ears say, Amen. Amen, Amen and Amen. Let it be. Let it be. Let it be. Let it be for the sake of the flesh and blood of Christ. Let it be. And the established rule for taxation is: 30 [measures of] honey and 4 [measures of honey as] *mäkwech'o*³ and [the measures of] cereal [to be given are] several. Let whoever takes away this [*gult* land] be anathematized by the flesh and blood [of Christ], who holds everything. For ever and ever, Amen.

¹ A rectangular wooden tablet representing the Ark of the Covenant to be found in every church by which that church is consecrated.

² Ms. Jan s'erer.

³ መከፋፈል, perhaps, መቀጠል, i.e., a forfeit to be paid if the stated tax is not delivered on time.

(B. L. Or. 481, 132v.)

6. C.L.a.6. Lebnä Dengel to the Church of Zämarho Maryam.

Later renewed by Gälawdéwos.

1540-59.

Formerly, our King Lebnä Dengel gave [the land of] Zämarho to *Liqä Kahnat* Fasilädäs saying: "Let it be [a place for a] *tabot* [for the establishment of] a church for you". [He also gave land] saying: "Let the lands of Wallat [and] Yä'abba Libanos be for [the Church of] Zämarho Maryam". Secondly, Emperor Gälawdéwos gave [these lands] like his father. Let whoever violates [this ordinance be anathematized].

(B. L. Or. 481, 124v.)

7. C.L.a.7. Lebnä Dengel to the Church of Maryam S'ägwa.

Gälawdéwos to the Monastery of Sellasé.

1540-59.

In praise of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Formerly, our King Lebnä Dengel gave several fields to the *Tabot* of Maryam [at] S'ägwa and the roster of the fields [granted] to this *Tabot* is present in the Gospel, [which is] from Dayän up to Bāshālo, [both] within and without [these regions]. And later on, our King Gälawdéwos¹ gave to the Church of Sellasé during [the period of office of] *Māmher* Ezra, so that what used to belong to a *tabot*, could [now also] belong to [another] *tabot*. And [this grant of *gult* land was announced by] *Qalä Häs'é* Dello when [the Community of] Israel came out [to listen to the announcement in the presence of] a *Has'égé*² [and other officers], such as, S'äga Berhan. And *Liqä Kahnat* Fasilädäs had [this ordinance] written down at the bottom of [the text of] the Gospel as an appendage.

(B. L. Or. 481, 154v.)

¹ Ms. Gälawdeyos.

² I.e., "The Hazgue or Lik Magwass"; see Bruce (1804); III, p. 18.

collection of] tax,¹ or in a judgement, or in [a case concerning the spilling of] blood; or in *arbe* 'a² and in *léba* [A]dem³ or for any other reason. [We have established this ordinance] so that it may be the saviour of our soul and flesh. Also, all the teachers of the church have pronounced an anathema by the order of our King Alām Sägäd. [They pronounced an anathema] by the power of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit so that no one may transgress this order. By the will of God, the Honoured and the Prince, and by the aid of Our Lady [Mary], the mother God, we have written the lands of [the region of] Gera, which are named S'änkäla, S'aqät', Mezhat', Qashät', Bedaqos, S'ädda, Shetu Dur [and] Guza, which our King Alām Sägäd, who is named Fasilädäs by the grace of God, gave so that they may be *gult* lands of the Church of Qés A'edawä Krestos, the brother of an *ech'ägé*, who is Abba Zäkrestos, the son of Abalä Krestos. And he ordered that no one from the Chiefs of Begemeder is to interfere for whatever reason either in [cases involving] shooting [incidents], or in [the collection of] tax, or in a judgement, or in [a case concerning the spilling of] blood, or in *areb'a*, or in *léba* [a]dem. When everything happened, this was done in 7155 Amättü Alām (1663 A.D.) in [the Era of] Luqas, the Apostle, and when he had reigned for 31 years, on 10th of the month of Genbot, while he was at Aringo. The chiefs of the town who were present during this year [are] Bitwädäd⁴ Ras Wäldä Giyorgis, the senior Belattén Géta Abéto Akalé, the Junior Belattén Géta Däjazmach Demét'ros, Däjazmach Mahdärä Krestos, the Chief of Begemeder, West' Azazh Zärufa'él, S'ühafé Te'ezaz Azazh Keflä Giyorgis, Azazh Wäldä Tensa'é, Azazh Asrat of the left, Hedug Ras Zähawaryat, Azazh Surahé Krestos of the right, Azazh Yämano, the T'aräsmeba Dämsash, Azazh Känäfrä Krestos, the Azazh of the treasurers, Azazh Qebe'a Krestos of the right, Liqé Be'elä Krestos, Liqé Zämänfäs Qeddus of the right, Liqé Yämano, Liqé Zäsellasé of the left, Aqabé Sä'at⁵ Abadir, S'äräg Masäré⁶ Qwäst'änt'inos, Qés

¹ The phrase ሐዲ፡ቆሎ፡ Lit., "emperor's roasted grain", which is a tax-rating indicating only a specified amount of grain paid as tax to the emperor.

² አርብ፡ Lit., "forty"; it is a local administration headed by elected community members to look at civil cases.

³ ሌብ፡አጽ፡ is both a title and a function relating to thief-catching.

⁴ Ms. Betwädäd.

⁵ Ms. Aqabé Se'at.

Has'ë Abba Zäwäldä Maryam, Liqä Ma'emran Aqmä Krestos [and] *Liqä Däbtära* Qwäst'änt'inos.

(B. L. Or. 642, 177v.)

11. C.L.a.11. Fasilädäs to the Church of Se'el Bét.

1632-67

In the Era of Yohannes, during period of office of *Aläqa Zägiyorgis* as *aläqa*, Emperor Fasil[ädäs] has given 102 *meder* to [the Church of] Se'el Bét.¹ The *amesteya*² for the people of the horologium³ [and] for [those who keep] the treasure [of the church is] 2 [*ch'an* of cereal] at Gétanagé, 9 *ch'an* [of cereal] at Guranba [and] the *rest* [is at] Awana. The 18 *meder* and 2 *bota*, [which is of a tax of] 5 *ch'an* [of cereal] is [at] Kab [in] Fogära.

(B. L. Or. 659, 239v.)

12a. C.L.a.12a. Fasilädäs to the Church of Mädhané Aläm.

1632-67.

The roster of land at Gubiya, which Emperor Fasil[ädäs] gave to [the Church of] Mädhané Aläm [is as follows]: 90 *me* [*der* and] 18 *bo[ta]* of a tax of 10 *ch'a[n]* of cereal and] 30 [bars of] salt in [the land of] Qwerban Täklo. [The 30 bars of] salt [is a payment instead] of a cow. 70 *me* [*der* and] 14 *bo[ta]* of a tax of] 30 [bars of] salt [and] 6 *ch'a[n]* of cereal] in [the land of] Bäha [and] Qwerban Täklo.

84 *me* [*der* and] 18 *bo[ta]* of a tax of 10 *ch'an* [of cereal and] 30 [bars of] salt [is] Wäyzäro Gwerendena's. [A land] of the artisan, where Biyal'fo [is] the holder of the *rest* land, [is] 6 *me* [*der*] of a tax of 6 *made* [ga of cereal]. 1 *bo[ta]* is Galla Wäldé's.

150 *me* [*der* and] 40 *bo[ta]* of a tax of 15 *ch'a[n]* of cereal and] 30 [bars of] salt [in the land], where Demyanos and Wälättu are the *ch'eqa*. From this, 50 *me* [*der* and] 10

⁶ Ms. S'äraj Maseré.

¹ Royal Chapel.

² አጥኑጥጥ Lit., "one-fifth" and it indicates the amount of cereal to be given as tax to holders of a *gult* land.

³ I.e., the people who chant the horologium.

45 *me[der and] 6 bo[ta]* of a tax of 4 *ch'a[n]* and 1 *däl* [of cereal and] 15 [bars of] salt [is] Zäsellasé's in the *rest* of Areqadeyos.

[The *gult* lands,] which [Emperor] Aläm Sägäd Fasil[ädäs] gave for [the preparation of] the Eucharist [are] 150 *me[der and] 40 bo[ta and] Azazh Zämika'él* of Wälläqa has celebrated¹ Mass with 15 *ch'a[n]* of cereal]. He (the Emperor) gave [these lands] to him for an exchange with the castle.

Alamägän has celebrated Mass with a tax of 5 *ch'a[n]* of cereal and] 15 [bars of] salt [on his land of] 150 *me[der and 40 bo[ta]*, which he (the Emperor) gave him for adopting the Christian faith. His region [is] Mälläsay and his baptismal name [is] Gäbrä Mädhén.

70 *me [der and] 30 ch'ench'a* [at] Sufanqära of a tax of 10 *ch'an* [of cereal and] 30 [bars of] salt [is] Eléni's [and] Ya'eqob's. 30 [bars of] salt [is a payment instead] of a cow.

150 *me[der]* of a tax of 10 *ch'a[n]* of cereal and] 40 *bota* at Säraba Bä'ata. The 30 [bars of] salt [is] Mammit's. The holder of the *rest* land [is] Wanni Täklo. The payment of [cereal as] tax for Zäray [is] a third [and] the measure [of the cereal] for the *däbtära(s)* is the same as for the court, [which is] a third [of the cereal in] *tēf*.

(B. L. Or. 518, 172v.)

13. C.L.a.13. Yohannes I to the Monastery of *Abunä Mäzra'että Krestos*. 1667-82. Behold, we King of Kings Yohannes, have given that which he has given to [the Monastery of] *Abunä Mäzra'etä Krestos*, [which is Däbrä Maydur], the land of Mätaro so that it might be for the salvation of body and soul. [The lands he granted to the

¹ He provided the stated amount of cereal , perhaps to the church, for the celebration of Mass at the same church.

Monastery of] Däbrä Maydur [are] the land of A'edago, May Qis'abo, [and] the land of Ambay Däqa, which is called the land of Bä'at Meder. Let not the Chief of Asgädi interfere at Särafo, S'a'eda Amba, Sebt'a, Amba Dänso and Gwädgwäda Lāham. Let no secular person interfere in the affairs of Justice except for the entrance¹ of the *Māmher*. Let whoever erases [this ordinance] be anathematized by the power of Peter and Paul.

(B. L. Or. 636, 4v.)

14. C.L.a.14. Yohannes I to the Church of Kwer'attä Re'esu. 1667-82.

Behold, we King of Kings A'elaf Sägäd, named Yohannes by the grace of God, have given lands to [the Church of] Kwer'attä Re'esu, which is found in the compound of our palace. [The lands, which we granted] from the regions of Säräqär [are] 20 *meder* at Jewana, 40 *me [der]* at Bälläya Maryam, Jäjjä, [and] Wanzagé, 8 *me[der]* at Jarjar, 14 *me [der]* at Säräwa, 10 *me[der]* at Güzäw, 14 *me[der]* at Fent'ero [and a tax of] 9 *ch'an* [of cereal at] Guramba. But he gave them this land saying: "[Let it be for] clearing the dust". And there is no [payment of] a third [as tax to the State] from their land of *qebanug*²

(B. L. Or. 636, 3v.)

15a. C.L.a.15a. Iyasu I to the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé. Dated 1694.

In praise of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. The building of Däbrä Berhan was started during the reign of King of Kings Adyam Sägäd, who is named Iyasu by the grace of baptism, when he had reigned for ten years, in the Era of Yohannes, in the beginning of Tito³, on Sunday, the 5th [day after] *t'enteyon*⁴ the 11th *abäqté*⁵ and the

¹ መዓላተ፡መጽሐፍ፡, i.e., the authority or right of the *Māmher*.

² I.e., oilseed *nug* (*Guizotia oleifera*).

³ I.e., Thoout, a Coptic word, which corresponds to the Ethiopian month of Mäskäräm.

⁴ The first day of the year.

⁵ Gr. *epakté*, lit., "Additional, numerical complement ... remaining [days] of the year ...", Kidanä Wäld, p. 199.

19th [day of] *mät'eq'e* ¹. And in the third year, when he has reigned for twelve years, in the Era of Mark, and in this year on 26th of T'er, on Sunday, King Iyasu was present when the *Tabot* of the Sellus Qeddus was consecrated and he followed it (i.e., the *Tabot*) up to Däbrä Berhan, riding on a horse and holding a spear with all the nobles and *Abba* Marqos, the bishop, and *Ech'ügé Abba* S'äga Krestos, and a drum and a *mesreqana* ². The drum was loaded on a camel. When the King arrived at the gate of the building of the church, he came down from the horse and he carried the *Tabot* on his head and brought it into the *mäqaräbya*,³ where *Abba* Marqos, the bishop, consecrated it. And *Aqabé Sä'at* T'ebäbä Krestos composed a *mäwädes* ⁴. And also *S'ühafé Te'zaz Azazh* Hawarya Krestos, who wrote this history of King Iyasu, composed *mäwädes* of *kwelkemu* ⁵. And *Abba* Qäwest'os composed *et'anä mogär*;⁶ the King, by bringing him from the Monastery of Wäreq Läbha, appointed him *äläqa* of its clergy and [also] made him *Neburä Ed* of Aksum. And on the following day, the King left Gondär and reached S'üdda and awarded a cloak to *Abba* Qäwest'os. And on 2nd Yäkatit, he arrived at Aringo, where he passed the summer season, selecting the clergy who are scholars of the Old and New [Testaments], chanting and poetry, and gave them many *gult* lands, which are [listed as follows]: 600 *meder* [and] 200 *bota*. [at] Boch. 600 *meder* [and] 220 *bota* [at] Qobla. 30 [*meder* is] where the people of Angwät celebrate Mass [and] 12 *meder* of the *gult* within a *gult* [is a land where they give tax of the pasture land to the *Aläqa* [of the church]. 200 *meder* [and] 100 *bota* [at] Jägwäl. 350 *meder* [and] 130 *bota* [at] Wawa. 200 *meder* [and] 100 *bota* [at] Sufanqära. 150 *meder* [and] 100 *bota* [at] Wäyna. The remaining *meder* is 150 [and] Mass was celebrated with [an income from] it. [The land at] Kämkaamba [in] Säraqo, which was in the hands of a soldier named Yetu. 60 *meder* [and] 21 *bota* [at] Bawa. 60 *meder* [and] 21 *bota* [at] Janahoy. 60 *meder* [at] Säqält and [the

¹ The first day of the new moon.

² A horn trumpet.

³ An area, where the *tabot* of a church under construction is kept until the new church is ready to receive it.

⁴ A verse with 8 lines.

⁵ A verse with 2 lines.

⁶ A hymn chanted after the Eucharist is offered.

number] of the *bota* is 15 [and it] is [together] with [the land at] Balangäb, which was divided from [the land of] Maryam Bägo. 600 *meder* [at] Dablo, which was in the hands of Abéto Ésedros. 400 *meder* [and] 202 *bota* [is] for *däbtära(s)* [and] 200 *meder* [is] for the poor. 600 *meder* [and] 190 *bota* [at] Säraba, which was in the hands of the King. A tax of 9 *ch'an* [of cereal to be given] in *bert*.¹ 4 *zät'äna*² [and] 210 *bota* [at] Gorgora. 20 *meder* [and] 20 *bota* [at Gorgora is] for the commemoration service of the King. [The Emperor] has given [the tax of all these lands] saying: "[Take the tax] of all these [*gult* lands, and] if Aqomra is struck by drought, [then, take the tax from the lands] up to Däq". The 1,000 *meder* [and] 700 *bota*, [at] Walwaj, which was in the hands of a Galla, [named] Edo, [is] situated between Semä Kefu and Sanjja [at] Walwaj. 11 *gasha* and a half [at] Enqash, of which a *gasha* and a half [of a tax of] a *däl* incense [is] for the commemoration service of the King, a lamp, incense and the Eucharist. [The Emperor also authorised a gift of] 20 *wäqét* from the King's tax [in] Sämén, for supper during [the festival of] Epiphany [and] a *wäqét* for a priest to say incense-burning prayers for a year. Complete fringe patterned carpets³ in the church whenever [they] wear out. [The income from] Na['e]dér, Dagna [and] Aksum [in] Tegräy [is] 100 *wäqét*. So that none of this [ordinance] may be violated, Abune Marqos, Ech'ägé S'äga Krestos, and the clergy of Gondar and the monks of the monasteries [in the mainland] and the islands have pronounced an anathema. And during this time, an Egyptian⁴ whose name is Murad, who trades up to India, Syria and Egypt, came with goods. He brought a large bell for the King, which he gave to [the Church of] Däbrä Berhan [Sellasé]. The sound [of the bell] could be heard from Kosogé to S'ädda [and] the whole town is woken [in the mornings] by it. The King of Wäländya⁵, which is the See⁶ of Rome, sent him. And on 30th Säne he arrived at Gondär. And on 7th Hamlé, on Saturday, King Iyasu went up to Däbrä Berhan to

¹ A metal basin holding 1 and a half *qunna*.

² A piece of uneven wild land where cattle may be left to graze; see Dästa, p. 1047.

³ ኃዚ instead of ኃዚ፡ጽንጣ፡.

⁴ According to some sources, he is referred to as an Armenian; for example, see Huntingford (1989): p. 19.

⁵ I.e., Holland.

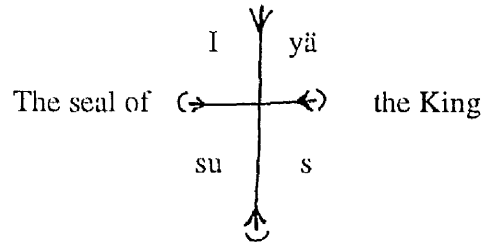
⁶ The word ትዕዛዝ besides used to mean congregation, it also means town.

commemorate the feast of the Trinity, with kingly ceremony, and gave to its clergy a chain of gold which he took from around his neck. The weight of this chain is 150 *wäqét*. And he did all this so that it may be for the salvation of his body and soul. In the peace of God, Amen. Secondly, [regarding] the 30 *meder* of the *Jagré* Dablo, Emperor Iyasu said: "Let him provide for the celebration of Mass at [the Church of] Däbrä Berhan [Sellasé]". And [regarding] the 30 *meder*, which was divided from the 60 *meder* at Bäwa, he said: "Let *Blatta* Täsfu celebrate Mass at [the Church of] Däbrä Berhan with 9 *ladan*¹ of grain by the measure of *as'é qolo* [and] 9 [bars of] salt". He [also] said, regarding the land [of a tax of] 4 *ch'an* and a *däl*,² which was divided from the land of Däbrä Berhan: "Let the people of Tägulät take part in the *sämon*³ of celebrating Mass [at the Church of Däbrä Berhan]". And [regarding] the land of Känafro at Boch, he said: "Let Mass be celebrated with a *ch'an* of cereal [and] 10 [bars of] salt [at the Church of] Däbrä Berhan [Sellasé]". He said, [regarding] the land of Tenkerker Mammo at Gorgora: "Let it be for a yearly [supply of] *qebanug* to [the Church of Däbrä Berhan] Sellasé". He said, regarding the *Tabot*, which is [at] Abba Nay: "Let it be subject to [the Church of] Däbrä Berhan [Sellasé]". The *Tabots*, which are subject to the *Tabot* of Sellasé [are] Atekelt *Qeddus* Giyorgis, Qobla *Qeddus* Mika'él, S'eyon Mämré Tärara, Wawa Kidanä Mehrät, Sufanqära Dabba S'eyon [and] Säraba Maryam. Let [the Church of] Boch Maryam be under the supervision of [the Church of] Däbrä Berhan. He said: "Let the *ch'eqa* of Atekelt be the *mezker* [to this]". So that none of this [ordinance] may not to be violated, the *Abun*, the *Ech'ägé*, and [the clergy of] churches and monasteries have pronounced an anathema.

¹ A flat basket used for measurement, holding 10 *qunna* (according to Dästa, p. 710) or 4 *qunna* (according to Täsäma, p. 44) or 2 *qunna* (according to Guidi, col. 41).

² Ms. yel.

³ Ms *semano*.



(B. L. Or. 481, 4r.)

15b. C.L.a.15b. Iyasu I to the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé 1682-1706.

The roster of lands, which King of Kings Adyam Sägäd, named Iyasu, gave and granted *gult* lands to [the Church of] Däbrä Berhan, [the church consecrated] in the name of the Sellus Qeddus, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit - one God - [are as follows:]

King of kings Täklä Haymanot [I]has given 20 *meder* [and] 20 *bota* [at]

Gorgora for the commemoration service of his father [Emperor] Iyasu [I].

Wäyna, Sufanqära,¹ Boch, Säqälet, Janahoy, Bawa, Qobla, Jägwäl,² Wawwa, Gorgora, Säraba, Dablo, Qolla Säraqo, Kämkaḡba, [the] two regions [of] Walwaj and Enqash. [He granted these *gult* lands] so that they may be for the Eucharist, lamps, and [for the supply of] firewood and charcoal and also for his commemoration - the commemoration of King. On top of this he added the office of *neburä'ed* of Aksum and [the office of] *Liḡä* Aksum of Na[‘e]dér and Dagna so that it may be a guide for him to Heaven. If anyone takes away and claims a right over these regions, let him be anathematized by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.

(B. L. Or. 777, 4r.)

16. C.L.a.16. Iyasu I to the Church of Kidanä Mehrät Däbrä Enqwe. 1682-1706.

We, King Adyam Sägäd, son of the King of Kings A’elaf Sägäd, named Iyasu by the grace of God, have set up [this ordinance] and ordered that all the lands of Qwälläla may be for [the Church of] Kidanä Mehrät, which we have named Däbrä Eneḡwe; and

¹ Ms. Suf Anqära.

² Ms. Jäḡol.

also for *Wäyzäro Säblä Wängel* so that it may be for their children and for their children's children. And we have added the land of Henach'och with the *gult* which is found at Gojjam, so that it may be for the upkeep of the church. And at this time, [the people] who were present [from amongst] the King's chiefs [are] *Ras Fares* and *Aqabé Sä'at Zämānfäs Qeddus* and *Belattén Géta Yohannes*, the *Raq Masüré*¹ *Zämānfäs Qeddus*, *S'eraq Masüré Kiro*s and *Liqä Ma'emera*n Mammo and *Qés Has'é Wäldä Haymanot* and *S'ähafé Te'ezaz Hawarya Krestos* and [*S'ähafé Te'ezaz*] *Qérlos* and the *Azazh(s) Azazh Zämānfäs Qeddus* and *Azazh Amoni* [and] the scholars *Liqé Mamo* and *Liqé Zekro*. So that those who come after us may not violate the ordinance, [which is by] this our command, *Abba Sinoda*, the bishop, and the *Ech'ägé Abba Yohannes* have pronounced an anathema. And let him be anathematized and be cut off from the community of the church by the mouth of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit and also by the mouth of the twelve apostles, 72 Diciples and also by the mouth of the 318 Just Fathers, who gathered at Nicea, the 200 [who gathered] at Ephesus [and] the 150 [who gathered] at Constantinople. And no one can reverse this anathema [not even people] who live in years [to come]. And as for our writing so that no one may erase [it] even a king, a queen, a bishop, a Qomos, or a priest until the end of the world. We have [ordered] this to be written down in all church books so that it may be a witness for the following generations for ever and ever.

(B. L. Or. 661, 161r.)

17. C.L.a.17. Téwoflos to the Church of Hämärä Noh.

1708-11.

We, King of Kings Téwoflos, whose reign name is As'erar Sägäd, have built a church in the name of 318 scholars [of the Church] and tens of thousands of angels and prophets. And the name of the Church is Hämärä Noh. And the roster of villages which we gave to the clergy [is] *Gwerizba*, *T'ahnä Arwa*, *Qällay*, *Kemarwa*, *Ers'enho*, *Sammi*, *Jahjjah*, *Ch'ela* [and] 9 *meder* [at] *Kämänti*. And the firewood of *Ras Gäbaya* [is to be given to the church] as tax for the [preparation] of the Eucharist. All this is

¹ Ms. *Eraq Masära*.

what we have done for the life of our soul. And [so that] those who come after us may not violate all this that we established and have given, we have ordered *Abunä* Marqos as well as the *Mämher* of [the Monastery of] Däbrä Libanos and also the scholars of the Church to pronounce an anathema and they have pronounced an anathema in the presence of all the governors and the scholars.

(B. L. Or. 508, 278r.)

18a. C.L.a.18a. Dawit III to the Church of Mika'él.

1716-21.

The roster of lands, which Emperor Adbar Sägüd Dawit [III] gave [to the Church of Mika'él [are] Dimma, Wät'ämb, Kinfaz, Mälat'a and Zerfent. The tax of Zerfent [is] 40 *wäqét*. The tax of Mälat'a [is] 12 *wäqét*, 1200 *mesé*¹ [of] cereal, fringe patterned carpet, *kozé matot*,² 12 wethers [and] 12 *läkko*.³ [The tax] for the *däbtära(s)* from Bälläsa [is] 1 *ch'an* and 2 *madega*⁴ [of cereal and] the exact income for the leader [is] 1 *ch'an* and 8 *madega* [of cereal]. Besides the *rest* owners, [the payment of tax by] Wädäl Gaz [is] 6 [bars of salt] for the *däbtära(s)* [and] 8 [bars of] salt for the *Märi* [*Géta*]. The *amestyä*⁵ from Wät'ämb is with a roasted grain. [The income for] the *sämon däbtära(s)* [who are allotted] at Afe'a [is] 6 [bars of] salt [each and] at Bälläsa [is also] 6 [bars of] salt [each]. The payment for the holder of the office of *ch'eqa* at Wät'ämb is 7 *wäqét* and an *alad* [and] the *alad* is for the *Liqä Müzämran*. [The payment] for the holder of the office of *ch'eqa* at Wät'ämb [is] 4 *madega* [of] honey [and] 80 [bars of] salt. The payment for the holder of the office [of *ch'eqa*] at Yesaha is [1] *wäqét* and an *alad*, at Jangwa an *alad*, at Qebra'él an *alad*, at Abeni an *alad* [and] at Berbakwes an *alad*.

(B. L. Or. 778, 2r.)

¹ A basket which holds approximately 5 k.g. of cereal.

² Ring made of entwined leather and rope upon which a jar is placed.

³ Entwined leather strap about one and a half metres long and it is attached to the halter and is used for leading an equine.

⁴ A medium sized jar holding between 8 and 10 qunna; see *Täsäma*, p. 151.

⁵ Ms. *amesho*.

18b. C.L.a.18b. Dawit III to the Church of Mika'él.

1716-21.

The roster of lands, which Emperor Adbar Sägäd [Dawit III] gave to the Church of *Qeddus* Mika'él [is as follows:] Dimma, Kinfaz, Mälat'a, Zärfent [and] 22 *gämdä* [at] Fent'ro so that it may be for the salvation of [his] soul. Let whoever takes one of these [*gult*] lands be anathematized by the power of Peter and Paul. The pronouncer of this anathema [is] *Abunä* Krestodolu.

(Manchester. Eth. Mss. No. 28.)

19. C.L.a.19. Bäkaḥa to the Monastery of Anzabä Giyorgis.

1721-30

We, King of Kings, Bäkaḥa commence with the aid of God setting up an ordinance of Anzabä *Qeddus* Giyorgis and we have given to it our *gult*, the land of Ch'änkär. We have given them saying: "Out of the 400 *meder*, two thirds of it is for the children of *Abbaté*¹ Niqolawos [and] for 33 *däbtära* to support their livelihood [so that they may carry out] the prayers of Horologium, the celebration of Mass and recitation of the Psalter. But as to the [remaining] third [of the land], it is for Amday, Särt'ay² and Sebhat [and] he told them: "Pay the tax, which you pay to me, to the children of *Abbaté* Niqolawos". And the tax is 12 *ch'an* and 6 *madega* [of cereal], of which a third of it [is] *téf*. [The tax] of the land ploughed by 5 pairs of oxen is 12 [measures of] honey [and] 120 [bars of] salt [and it] is [to be paid to] Amday, Särt'ay [and] Sebhat. Again, a tax of *wäjjäd*³ of 20 *enjära*, 2 chickens [and] 2 [jars of] *t'älla* [is to be given separately] to Amday, Särt'ay [and] Sebhat during the feast of the Cross [and] at Easter. This is [the income] of tax for Amday, Sert'ay [and] Sebhat, which is the tax of three [people]. In order that [this ordinance] is not violated, *Abunä* Krestodolu [and] *Ech'äge* Zäwäldä Maryam have pronounced an anathema. During the period of office of *Abbaté* Amoneyos as *mämher*,⁴ they pronounced an anathema saying: "The tenure of office must not be removed from the children of *Abba* Niqolawos and let the church be

¹ Lit., "My Father" as a form of deferential address usually for a cleric.

² This name appears as Sert'ay as well in the same charter.

³ A field near a house.

⁴ Ms. *Abatnät* which means abbothood and signifies that he was referred to as an *abat* or *mämher* of a monastery.

a monastery". Let whoever violates this [ordinance] be anathematized by the power of Peter and Paul.

(B. L. Or. 481, 208v.)

20. C.L.a.20. Bäkafa to the Church of Qämuḵ Kidanä Mehrät. 1721-30.

We begin with praising the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit - We who are named Bäkafa by our throne name and As'emä Giyorgis by the the grace of baptism have given [the lands of] Gulgwaba, Asbo [and] Färäs Qämäs to [the Church of] Qämuḵ Kidanä Mehrät. He has set up two-thirds of [it] as *rim* for 52 *dabtara*. [And] for the [remaining] third, Emperor Bäkafa has said to Abreham and Feteha Aryam and Afro Aygba: "May you celebrate Mass [at the church]". [The person] who divides up [these pieces of lands] is *Azazh Tädésyos*. So that [this ordinance] may not be violated, an anathema was pronounced by the words of *Abunä Krestodolu* [and] *Ech'ägé Zäwäldä Maryam*.

(B. L. Or. 481, 208v.)

21. C.L.a.21. Bäkafa to the Church of Rufa'él. 1721-30.

Behold, we, King of Kings Bäkafa have given [the following lands] to the clergy of *Qeddus* Rufa'él so that it may be the saviour of our flesh and soul. [The] 447 *meder* at Fent'ero, Abagé [and] Baher Shäsh, 44 *meder* at Kwäsän and the land which was in the hands of *Wäyzäro* Wälättä Hawaryat and *Wäyzäro* S'eyon Mogäsa which is a land of a tax of a *madega* minus 12 *ch'an* [of cereal], where 77 *däbtära* are allotted [and] at Sarwäha, a land of 3 *ch'an* [of cereal], which was in the hands of *Wäyzäro* Bayush's brother, West'é, where 23 *däbtära* are allotted [and] at Aläwa, which was in the hands of Durri Mammo, the *Jagré*, where 12 *däbtära* are allotted. Let whoever violates this ordinance, whether king or queen or a noble or populace, be anathematized by the power of Peter and Paul and by the 12 Apostles.

(B. L. Or. 799, 215r.)

22. C.L.a.22. Bäkafa to the Church of Rufa'él.

1721-30.

Behold, we King of Kings Bäkafa have given, that it may be for the saviour of the soul and flesh, he gave [lands], saying: "Let it be for lunch to the clergy of [the Church of] Rufa'él". [The lands are] Nobi [and] Qäbäldin in the region of S'allämt, where Noléwi is the *ch'eqa* [and] the tax is 1600 [bars of] salt, out of which 1,000 [is] for the *aläqa* [and] 600 for the officers [of the church]. 12 *mas*,¹ 12 *mas* (sic) [and] 12 wooden trays for coffee cups, [which are to be given] as a mark of respect, [and another payment of] 12 *shämma*. [The] 12 *shämma* [are] for the *aläqa* [and the other] 12 *shämma* [are] for the officers. The payment for the holder [of the office] *ch'eqa* [is] 3 *wäqét* and an *alad*; 2 *wäqét* [is] for the *aläqa* [and 1] *waqét* and an *alad* for the officers. The *bota*, which he gave for lunch [for the clergy] is that of Dädés' which is situated next to the Gemja bét. The *bota(s)*, which he gave to the priests is the 105 [and] is situated between Däräbo and Arba'etu Ensessa. And [the land] for the 15 *däbtära* is Darägenda. Anyone who violates this [ordinance] is anathematized by the power of Peter and Paul.

(B. L. Or. 784, 1v.)

23. C.L.I.23. Iyasu II to the Church of Rufa'él.

1730-55.

The lands of *amesteya*, which Emperor Iyasu [II] gave to [the Church of] Rufa'él at Gwämängé [and] Wämbi [are] 110 *meder*. The *rest* holders of these [lands are]: West'é's 12 [*meder*], Särs'é's 6 [*meder*], which Ashäber and Té[wo]dros bought, Léba Neblé's 2 [*meder*], which Wäldä Iyäsus, the son of Tédros, bought.

(B. L. Or. 799, 88v.)

24. C.L.I.24. Iyasu II and Mentewab to the Church of Qwesqwam.

1730-55.

In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. The only God, who is the Salvation.

¹ Soft leather made from sheep or goat skin.

Behold - we, King of Kings Iyasu, whose reign name is Berhan Sägäd, and whose mother is Queen Wälättä Giyorgis, named Berhan Mogäsa, have given to the Church of Qwesqwam, which is built above Gondär and named Däbrä S'ähay - silk capes and carpets and incense burners and crowns of gold and of silver, a silver vessel and chalice, and books of the Old and New Testaments and all Holy-Utensils so that they may be able to offer prayer with them to God to save our souls. And we have given land called Bajäna to its clergy, where Galla initially lived and which was later on apportioned to Zäwé, so that it may be for their food. And for the preparation of the Eucharist, we have given land called Gunter, which used to be in the hands of Wäyzäro Meslānteya. And for the commemoration of the King, we have given land called Käch. And we have exchanged the place called Qofaroch in the presence of *Abunä* Krestodolu, the Bishop of Ethiopia, *Abunä* Täklä Haymanot, the *Mämher* of [the Monastery of] Däbrä Libanos, the *Aqabé Sä'at*, the scholars of the churches, *mämher(s)*, governors and scholars of Justice. But so that neither king nor queen, nor governors, nor populace should despise these our gifts, all the priests and *mämher(s)* and scholars of the church including the Bishop *Abunä* Krestodolu and our *mämher*, *Abba* Täklä Haymanot, have pronounced an anathema saying: "If there be anyone who violates this ordinance, let him be anathematized by the authority of Peter and Paul and all the Apostles".

(B. L. Or. 636, 5r.)

25. C.L.I.25. Iyasu II to the Church of Sellus Qeddus.

1730-55.

Emperor Berhan Sägäd, named Iyasu by the grace of biptism, gave land to the Church of Sellus Qeddus, which *Däjazmach* Arekälädes commissioned to be built at Qaroda. So that no one may take [the land] and give it to an outsider after his reigning years, the honourable father the *Mämher* of Däbrä Libanos, *Ech'ägé* Täklä Häymanot, and the most high Bishop, *Abba* Krestodolu,¹ have pronounced an anathema saying: "Let

¹ Ms. Krestädolu.

whoever gives or receives [this land] be anathematized by the power of our Fathers and Apostles.”

(B. L. Or. 600, 2v.)

26. C.L.a.26. Iyo'as I and Mentewab to the Church of Giyorgis. 1755-69.

Emperor Iyo'as [I] and Empress Mentewab have given [the lands of] Jema, Waññata and Qéro to [the Church of] Mos'a *Qeddu* Giyorgis. And [regarding] this [ordinance], the *Abun* [and] the *Ech'ügé* have pronounced an anathema.

(B. L. Or. 776, 269r.)

27. C.L.a.27. Täklä Haymanot to the Church of P'ét'ros and P'awlos. 1769-77.

Emperor Täklä Haymanot has given the *gult* [lands] of *Wäyzäro* Marta and *Wäyzäro* Gänäta at Jangra S'eyon to [the Church of] P'étyros and P'awlos [for the preparation of] the Eucharist. [The number of pieces of] land is 110 [*meder*]. So that this [ordinance] may not be violated, *Abunä* Yosab and *Ech'ügé* Täsfu have pronounced an anathema in the power of Peter and Paul.

(B. L. Or. 678, 51v.)

28. C.L.a.28. Täklä Haymanot II to the Church of Yohannes Wäldä Nägwädgwad

1769-77.

Behold, we, King of Kings Täklä Haymanot, whose throne name is Gerum Sägäd and our mother, Queen Abalä Maryam, have given [the following] to the Church of Yohannes Wäldä Nägwädgwad, which is Däbrä Tädla: vestments, incense burner, patten, chalice, books and all holy vessels so that they may offer prayers to God to save our souls. And to its clergy we have given a region called T'aqusa, in which at first bees and Kayla¹ lived; from the top of Sägé 80 [*?meder* and] from the bottom of Sägé 80 [*?meder*, which is] *näft'qümäs*.² And for the Eucharist, [the *gult* lands given are]

¹ i.e., Felasha or Jews of Ethiopia, implying here that the region is newly settled by Amharas.

² I.e., an income for the bearers of guns.

Anbäs, Bamba, Zergi [and] Jargé. [We gave this] in the presence of *Abunä* Yosab, the Bishop of Ethiopia and also in the presence of *Abunä Ech'ägé* Täsfu, and also in the presence of *Aqabé Sü'at* Täklä Haymanot, and [also in the presence of] the scholars of churches, *mämher(s)*, governors and scholars of Justice. But, in order not to despise this gift of ours by even the populace, all priests, abbots and scholars of churches with our *Abun* and our Bishop Yosab and with our *Mämher* Täsfu have pronounced an anathema saying: "If anyone violates this ordinance, let him be anathematized by the power of Peter and Paul and all the Apostles". Amen.

(B. L. Or. 511, 2v.)

29. C.L.a.29. Täklä Häymanot II to the Church of Bä'ata.

1769-77.

In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. One God. Behold, we, King of Kings Täklä Haymanot, whose throne name is T'ebäb Sägäd, have ordered and given many lands to the clergy of [the Church of] Bä'ata in the sanctuary called Däbrä T'ebäb, which is built on the edge of Gondär, so that it may be for the salvation of [our] body and soul; they are the lands of Säräqären, [which was] *basha qämäs*,¹ Aräbya, [which was] *balambaras qämäs*² and [also] many other lands. The share of these clergy from these lands [is as follows] : At Jewana 292 *me[der]* and a *qerana*. At Kab Läya Maryam 615 *me[der]* with *qe[rana]*. At Berahéla 132 *me[der]*. At S'äddä 26 *me[der]*. At Bichämär 44 *me[der]*. At [A]nch'a [and] at Jarjar 455 *me[der]*. At Gäzäw 232 *me[der]*. At Seräwa 104 *me[der]*. At Gäräma 264 *me[der]*. At [A]bagé, at Fent'ero, at Wembi 420 *meder*. At Dalkäw 232 *me[der]*. 60 *me[der]* [at] Abba Nob. At Aräbiya 352 *me[der]*. At Dablo, At Saraba, at Kwami 90 *me[der]*, [which is] *Zäyé qämäs*. At Suf Anqära 180 *me[der]*. At forgé 50 *me[der]*. At Ch'elo 50 *me[der]*. At Berbakwes 50 *me[der]*. At Kwäsan 50 *me[der]*. At Gum Särärgé 30 *me[der]*. The excess [land] found at Dalko [is] 25 *me[der]*. And [in order that those] kings and governors who come after us may not violate this ordinance, Our Father Bishop

¹ I.e., an income for a *basha*.

² I.e., an income for a *balambāras*.

Yosa[b], *Ech'ägé* Tasfa Giyorgis, the *Mämher* of Däbrä Libanos, *Aqabé Sä'at Täklä* Haymanot and all scholars of the church have pronounced an anathema.

(B. L. Or. 635, 1r.)

30. C.L.a.30. Sälomon II to the Church of *Qeddus* Giyorgis.1777-79.

During the period of office of *Ras* Märed as *Bitwädäd*, Emperor Sälomon has given Agam Weha as an exchange for Qérro to [the Church of] Mos'a¹ *Qeddus* Giyorgis. The *Abun* and the *Ech'ägé* have pronounced an anathema.

(B. L. Or. 776, 269r.)

31a. C.L.a.31a. Sälomon II to the Monasteries of Waldeba, Dalsheha and Tanash Bét.

1777-79

During the reign of Emperor Sälomon II [and] during the period of office of *Ras* Haylu as *ras*, [the Emperor] has given Barko for the upkeep of the church. He has [also] given the region of Dengur and Amma Gérgis saying: "For a resting place of lepers". [These are the *gult* lands] of the [monastic] Communities of Waldeba, Dalsheha [and] Tanash Bét. And the *Abun* says: "Let whoever deprives them [of these *gult* lands] and erases this [ordinance] be anathematized".

(B. L. Or. 599, 168v.)

31b. C.L.a.31b. Sälomon II to the Monasteries of Waldeba, Dalsheha and Tanash Bét.

1777-79.

Emperor Sälomon has given T'äbla in Debur [and] the region of Amma Gérgis, Barko [and] Wägära to the [monastic] community of Waldeba, Tanash Bét [and] Dalsheha. And the *Abun* has pronounced an anathema [against] whoever deprives them of [this *gult* land].

(B. L. Or. 600, 159r.)

¹ Ms. Mes'o.

32. C.L.a.32. Sälomon II to the Church of *Qeddus* Mika'él. 1777-79.

Emperor Sälomon has given the [office of] *mezker* of Delshet S'eyon [and the people of] Abäkabot to [the Church of] As'as'amé Mika'él. He has said: "Let the 5 *wäqét*, [which is] the income for [holding the office of] *mezker*, be for raisins and incense". So that this [ordinance] may not be violated, *Abunä* Yosab [and] *Ech'ägé* Täsfu have pronounced an anathema whilst standing in [the] square. They have said: "Let anyone whether a king or queen or governors or *wäyzäro(s)* be anathematized if they violate [this ordinance].

(B. L. Or. 778, 6v.)

33. C.L.a.33. Sälomon II to the Church of Mika'él.

1777-79.

The roster of lands which Emperor Sälomon [II] gave to the clergy of *Qeddus* Mika'él of the As'as'amé [are] - Zhangwa, Qebrayäl, Yesaha, [which are?] *balambäras qämäs* [and] Gweyaha, the land of a tax of 14 *ch'an* [of cereal] [and] Abni, the land of a tax of 5 *ch'a[n]* and a *däl*. And the land, which he gave for [the preparation of] the Eucharist [is] Mach'a, [which is] of a tax of 4 *ch'an* [of cereal]. So that this [ordinance] may not be violated, *Abunä* Yosab, *Ech'ägé* Täsfu [and] *Aqabé Sä'at*¹ Gäbrä Heywät have pronounced an anathema [whilst] standing in the [main] square. Wäldä Giyorgis' land [at] Zefan [in] Gändäwa Walwaj, from which , he (the Emperor) gave [an income of] 4 *ch'an* of wheat [and] 50 [bars of] salt [to the church, so that it could be] for [the preparation of] the Eucharist, lies immediately below the house of *aläqa* Abbo Barya [and continuing] through [the houses/the land of] Fesa[ha], the scribe, and the *wäyzäro(s)*² right up to Ensät Anba, which Emperor Dawit gave [in former years].

(B. L. Or. 778, 2v.)

¹ Ms. Aqab 'esat.

² Ms. Wäyzazer.

34. C.L.a.34. Fasilädäs to the Church of Mädhané Aläm.

Later renewed by Täklä Giyorgis.

29th October 1781.

In the month of T'eqemt, in the Era of Marqos, on the 21st day, Monday (29th October 1781), Emperor Täklä Giyorgis issued a proclamation and gave to the 24 original *däbtära* of [the Church of] Mädhané Aläm their former [entitlement to the] tax of the land of Gubya. They concluded [with on the oath]: "Let the Emperor die", if they (the villagers) failed to render it (i.e., the tax) for 5 years, [then] they would be entitled to a third and the *däbtära(s)* to two-third.

(B. L. Or. 518, 171v.)

35. C.L.a.35. Täklä Giyorgis to the Church of Bärägäja S'eyon.

1779-1800.

Emperor Täklä Giyorgis has given [an income of] [1] *wäqét* and 5 [bars of] salt, which the *käntiba* used to receive, to [the Church of] Bärägäja S'eyon, saying: "Let it be for incense [and] a lamp at the church". This is done during period of office of Wädaj, the son of *Qés Näbiyā* Le'ul, as *gäbüz*. [The person] who is ordered to have [this] written down [is] *Asälaḥi* Haylu.

(B. L. Or. 777, 13v.)

36. C.L.a.36. Gigar to the Church of Ch'änkär Qwesqwam.

1821-30.

In the Era of Luqas, during the reign of Emperor Gigar, Emperor Gigar has given a tax of 5 *ch'an* [of cereal on a piece of land] at Chänkär Qwesqwam, to [the Church of] Gemja Bét,¹ saying: "Let it be for the treasury [of the church for the preparation of] the Eucharist". [And] he has [also] given the field at Dabal Gänb saying: "Let it be for the people who serve [at the church]". So that this [ordinance] may not be violated, an anathema was pronounced by the word of *Ech'ägé* Filpos and by the words of priests of churches.

(B. L. Or. 777, 17r.)

¹ This church was situated near the ፳፻፳፻፳፻ "the treasury" of the palace at Gondar.

Appendix C.L.1. Gäbrä Mäsqäl to the Monastery of S'eyon Däbrä Anbässa. 6th cent.
Later renewed by Fasilädäs and Täklä Giyorgis.

In praise of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. I, King Gäbrä Mäsqäl, have granted [the following lands as] *gult* to [the Monastery of] S'eyon Däbrä Anbässa - Adago, Adshähay with Mes'edal' Araweh, Kolal with Mat'äqum, Adwäfärt, Dägwas'i, Adkeflom, Admamuha, Tekul Ebni.¹ All this *gult* [land] is *et'an zoré*. [In the lands of] - Märh Sänay, Härad Be'eray, Gwäraho [and] Kwe'et - two bishops who are buried there, named *Abunä Matéwos* [and] *Abunä Mäqares*, had pronounced an anathema saying: "In here, the Chief of Ahsä'a must not enter". 20 *mämher* [and] 40 priests have [also] pronounced an anathema saying: "By the word of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit [and] by the word of the 12 Apostles [and] by the word of the 300 [Just Fathers]. Let whoever steals or erases [the record of this ordinance] be anathematized for ever". And this is written in the Era of Marqos, on 20th Mägabit, during the reign of Emperor Fasil[ädäs and] during the period of office of *Aläqa Zägiyorgis* as *aläqa*. Thirdly, during the period of office of *Ras Ayadar* as *ras* [and] *Aläqa Wäldä Rufa'él* as *aläqa*, Emperor Täklä Giyorgis said: "I have given her what Emperor Gäbrä Mäsqäl gave her."

(B. L. Or. 481, 92r.)

Appendix C.L.a.2. Lalibäla to Egzi'abhér Ab. 1172-1212.

Later renewed by Yekuno Amlak and Zär'a Ya'eqob.

In praise of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. [King] Lalibäla had set up an ordinance of the *gult* of Halqwaho to [the church of] Egzi'abhér Ab. And later on, Emperor Yekuno Amlak set up an ordinance for the 12 festivals [a gift of] 1,000 *e[n]jära*, 2 *mogärya*,² 2 *madega*³ [of *t'älla*] - one [of which is] for the *däbtära(s)*, one

¹ The current names of these villages are 'Addishähay, 'Addiwälfärti, 'Addikeflom, 'Addimanuha and Tekul Emni.

² This may be the same as ሙገረ , "a very large bread"; see Täsäma, P. 137.

³ A medium sized jar holding between 8 and 10 *qunna*; see Täsäma p. 151.

for the *bä'alä harb*,¹ a third of which is for the elders of the church from [amongst] the *bä'alä harb*. And *zahäla*, *has'eba*, *zokam*, *hāshälema*, *leb däharé*, *aweger awgeru* [is for] *mäyämqoch'ä*, *sälébät'ä*, *tära harat'é täqerara*. *Awger awgeru mämätägya*, [which is for] keeping the *nazä*.² And later on, Emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob established an ordinance so that governors, a *qalä häs'é*³ and other men may not interfere [with it].

(B.L. Or. 481, 209r.)

¹ Royal body guard who carries the Emperor's shield and a golden razor; see B.L. Or. 817, 13r.

² Here, most of the words are entirely incomprehensible as Ge'ez or Amharic. However, they appear to be an archaic types of measures.

³ Ms. *qalä haké*.

II. Personal Land Grants

Besides the *gult* land grants by the State, several churches also received land and material support from its devout congregation. There are nine documents, which state the gift of *gult*, *rim* and *rest* lands, to seven churches.

The earliest document in the Collections recording the gift of an income to a church (C.L.b.1.), though for a specified period, was made to the Church of Maryam by two sisters, Roman and Januq, for the purpose of the salvation of the soul and flesh and longer life for Emperor Dawit II. Furthermore, the reason for this gift of 3 measures of cereal to the church, which was to be given throughout the days of the Sovereign, was hoped to help in subjugating his rivals and enemies.

Wäyzäro Wälättä Isra'él, the daughter of Empress Mentewab, not only commissioned the Church of *Qeddus* Giyorgis at Mot'a, she also gave (C.L.b.2.) land at Doga Gasha for the clergy so that it might be used for their supply of fresh maize and vegetables. The *ch'eqa* of Doga Gasha was authorized not to interfere in the administration of this land by the order of Emperor Iyo'as I. Moreover, *Wäyzäro* Te'emar, the daughter of a certain Wühni Gälawdéwos, gave (C.L.b.5.) her father's *gult* land consisting of 50 *meder* at Sholagé to the Church of Fit *Qeddus* Mika'él so that it might only be used for the preparation of the Eucharist. In order that the clergy of the church might not use it "for any other purpose", an anathema was pronounced by unnamed clergy.

There are three documents, which refer to the gift of *rim* lands to the Church of Rufa'él at Gondar. During the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis, *Abéto Wäldä Kidan* gave (C.L.b.3.) *Abba* Layku's *rim* of 2 *meder* to the church because of confession. Moreover, in 1813 A.M. (1820/21 A.D.) *Yaläw Ayqür Kidan* gave (C.L.b.7.) land to *Aläqa Gäbrä Yohannes* to use until he died. But later on, the same land was to be taken by the Church of Rufa'él. Another *rim* land was also given (C.L.b.4.) to the same church by *Wäyzäro Wälättä Täklé* for the preparation of the Eucharist. However, *Wäyzäro Wälättä Täklé* stresses that the *rim* land was first to be used by *Gäbrä Amlak*

and Käbté, who is referred to as blind, up to the time of their death. So that these two gifts, first to Gäbrä Amlak and Käbté and secondly to the church, may not be violated, an anathema was pronounced by the priests of the church.

The Church of Mäadhané Aläm in Gondar also received (C.L.b.6.) a *rim* land from *Gera Géta* Wäldä Giyorgis, which he took it from *Géta* Mälk S'adéq because of an *alad* of gold. There is also a document which states a gift (C.L.b.9.) of a *rim* land at Boch in Gorgora, where half of it was given to Täklä Maryam, the son of *Liqé* Hulu Géta, and the other half to the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé at Gondar. Finally, *Mämher* Wäldä Rufa'él gave (C.L.b.8.) his *rest* land at Gerarya and 4 *wäqét* and an *alad*, which was the proceeds of the sale of his *bota*, to the Church of Mähdärä Maryam.

37. C.L.b.1. Roman and Januq to the Church of Mariam.

1508-40

In praise of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Roman, with her sister Januq, has given 3 measures [of cereal] from Belela to [the Church of] Maryam; [and she said]: "Let [this gift] be [given] during the days of King Dawit [II].¹ And [the people who were present were] *Aqamba* Yäweha Krestos, *Shob[h]er* Melkam, *Afü Aqamba* Zena Krestos, *Mälkäñña(s)* Näbiy and Täklä Maryam and the Governor [of the land is] Nabiy and the officer [is] Amha Läs'eyon and the *qés gäbüz* [of the church is] S'äga Zär'ab and the *Mägabi(s)* Täkästä Berhan and Zär'a Maryam and the *Mämher Abba* Zär'a Dawit and the *Liqä Kahnat* Däqseyos. And this *gult* which Roman gave to [the Church of] Maryam so that it might be for Dawit, our king, the salvation of his soul and body, and [also] that God, the Father, may prolong his days and subjugate his rivals and enemies under the soles of his feet. Amen.

(B. L. Or. 481, 92v.)

38. C.L.b.2. Wälättä Isra'él to the Church of Giyorgis.

1755-69.

During the reign of Emperor Iyo'as [II], when *Wäyzäro* Wälättä Isra'él was building the Church of Mot'a Giyorgis, she has given [land to the people of the church] saying: "Let the *ch'eqa* not interfere in [the administration of the land] at Doga Gasha. Let it be for their fresh maize and vegetables". And she has caused a proclamation to be announced with [the approved] words of the King. The witnesses to this are *Azazh* Bahrey, the *Wänbär*, and others [such as] *Gult'emt* [and] *Akazyas*.

(B. L. 776, Or. 268v.)

39. C.L.b.3. Wäldä Kidan to the Church of Rufa'él.

c. 1797.

During the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis, in the Era of Yohannes, during the period of office of *Aläqa* S'éna as *aläqa*, *Abéto* Wäldä Kidan has given the 2 *meder* of *Abba*

¹ The dating of this note has been possible by the list of witnesses, who happened to hold office during the reign of Emperor Lebnä Dengel, who was also referred to as Dawit [II]; see 5(C.L.a.5.).

Layku [to the church]. The witnesses [are] the *däbtära(s)*. [He gave this land] for confession.

(B. L. Or. 799, 3r.)

40. C.L.b.4. Wälättä Täklé to the Church of Rufa'él. c. 1810.

Wäyzäro Wälättä Täklé has given the *rim* [land], which *Liqé* Bätaré¹ bought from *Abba* Bätü, to Gäbrä Amlak and the blind Käbté until they die [and] after this, she has said: "Let it be for [the preparation of] the Eucharist at [the Church of] Rufa'él". So that [these] two [arrangements] may not be violated, the priests have pronounced an anathema.

(B. L. Or. 799, 55r.)

41. C.L.b.5. Te'emar to the Church of Mika'él. 1801-18.

In the Era of Marqos, during the reign of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon, [regarding] the 50 *meder gult* land of Wäheni Gälawdéwos, his daughter, *Wäyzäro* Te'emar has given [it] to Fit *Qeddus* Mika'él saying: "Let it be for [the preparation of] the Eucharist". The witnesses [to this] are the *azazh(s)* and scholars. So that this [gift] may not be [used] for any other purpose, an anathema was pronounced.

(B. L. Or. 513, 2r.)

42. C.L.b.6. Wäldä Giyorgis to Täsfa Mika'él Haylu and the Church of Mädhané Aläm

1801-18.

During the reign of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon, during the period of office of *Aläqa* Mes'elalu as *Aläqa* and Gäbrä Maryam as archdeacon, *Gera Géta* Wäldä Giyorgis, when he was organizing his house, said: "I have given my *rim* to Täsfa Mika'él Haylu [and I have also given] the *rim* of *Géta* Mälk S'édéq, which I held because of an *alad* of gold, to [the Church of] Mädhané Aläm".

(B. L. Or. 644, 4r.)

¹ He bought the *rim* from Bätü for 6 *wäqét*; see B. L. Or. 799, 218v.

43. C.L.b.7. Yaläw Ayqär Kidan to the Church of Rufa'él. Dated 1820-21.

In 7313 [Amätä Aläm], in the Era of Matéwos, Yaläw Ayqär Kidan has given [the land], which she received from *Abba Kenfü Gäbr'él* because of an *alad*, to *Aläqa Gäbrä Yohannes* saying: "Recite the Psalter for me". [She gave him the land] until he dies, [but] after that let it be for [the Church of] Rufa'él. [This gift of land happened] during the period of office of *Aläqa S'ädalä* as *Aläqa*, Haylu, the *Märi Géta*, S'ädalu, the *Qäñ Géta*, T'ebäbu, the *Gera Géta*, Tüklä Sellasé and Wäldä Sellasé, the *Bét T'äbaqi(s)*, As'equ and Wä[n]bä[ru], the *Em(s)*, and [Wä]ldä Tüklé, the *Mäch'äné*. The rest of the *däbtära* [also] know [of this gift].

(B. L. Or. 799, 1r.)

44. C.L.b.8. Wäldä Rufa'él to the Church of Mahbärä Maryam. c. 1835.

Mämher Wäldä Rufa'él has sold his *bota* for 4 *wäqét* to *Wäyzäro Engeda Wärq*. He gave the *wäqét* and his *rest* [land] at Grarya to the church. [This happened] during the tenure of office of *Aläqa Gäbrä Egzi'e*, *Liqa Kahnat Kidanä Qal*, *Qäñ Géta Hens'a*, *Gera Géta Webé*, *Mulu Géta*¹ Tekku, *Mulu Géta* Gäbrä Giyorgis and during the period of office of Zäryhun Wälättä Rufa'él and Wedo Engeda as *Mälkäñña(s)*. The witnesses to this [are] the *däbtära*.

(Cambridge Add. 1570, 264v.)

45. C.L.b.9. Berlé to the Church of Sellasé and Tüklä Maryam 1855-68.

In the Era of Mat'éwos, during the reign of King Téwodros, [and] during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä Berhanat* Gäbru [and] *Liqa Mäzümran Dästa*, the daughter of *Ligaba Wäldä Giyorgis*, *Emahoy* Berlé, has given a half of her *rim* [land] to [the Church of] Sellasé [and] the [other] half to Tüklä Maryam, the son of *Liqa Hulu Géta*, saying: "He is my relative". The witnesses are the *däbtära*. [The land] is [at] Boch [in] Gorgwära.²

¹ Ms. Melu Géta.

² It also appears as Gorgora.

(B. L. Or. 777, 280r.)

CHAPTER THREE

PRIVATE LANDS

I. State *gult* land grants

The earliest charter of *gult* land grants to individuals in the Collections is found in the charters of Emperor Amda S'eyon. The beneficiaries of this generous gift of *gult* lands were Yagba S'eyon, S'äbälä Mika'él and Keflä Mika'él. First of all, the charter (P.L.a.1.) states that Emperor Amdä S'eyon granted the land of Yämba and Mengash to Yagba S'eyon as *gult*. The officers of the lands of Yämba and Mengash are given as Yädäräbayä and Téwodros respectively. The importance of the gift of these lands can clearly be seen by the mention of eight notable officials of the State as witnesses. While *Zhans'erar Géta* Habtä Maryam, who apparently had held the additional office of the *qalä has'é*, could, perhaps, be taken as the highest official of these lands, the *Mälkäñña(s) Géta* Beshalé and *Géta*Täkästä Berhan might well have had the ultimate responsibility for the collection of the tax in these *gult* lands and are thus to be seen, here as the immediate superiors of Yädäräbayä and Téwodros. The amount of tax to be paid from these *gult* lands to Yagba S'eyon is clearly specified. There are also two charters (P.L.a.2a. and P.L.a.2a.) by the same sovereign which state the grant of the lands of Gänzha and S'älgo as *gult* by the same sovereign to S'äbälä Mika'él. The first charter states the grant of the *gult* land of Gänzha to S'äbälä Mika'él and the payment of cereal as tax is simply stated as 70 measures. Here, the officer of the land of Gänzha is mentioned as Yagba. Moreover, the second charter records the grant of the lands of Gänzha and S'älgo to S'äbälä Mika'él. To start with, unlike the other charter (P.L.a.2a.), it fails to mention the officers of the lands of Gänzha and S'älgo and, as far as the tax of Gänzha is concerned, it shows some difference in the amount of the payment to him. While the first charter, for instance, states the tax as 70 measures of cereal, the second one lists it as 80 measures. Moreover, there are changes in the

payment of honey and cows. In the second charter, the annual payment of 10 measures of honey and 2 cows are divided into two - 5 *haraba* of honey and 1 cow is to be given during Easter and Qeddus Yohannes or the Ethiopian New Year's Day. Another charter (P.L.a.3.) by the same sovereign states that the lands of Bäkwellä and Milawa were granted as *gult* to Keflä Mika'él and the tax of these lands was 10 measures of cereal, 10 *kara* of honey, 2 *qerana* with *mälämüch'a* and a monthly payment of 2 bars of salt with an unspecified amount of *fés'o*. The same charter goes on to report the addition of the land of Delgena as *gult* to Keflä Mika'él with an even greater income of 50 measures of cereal, 50 measures of honey with 2 *qerana* and a monthly payment of 8 bars of salt with, again, an unspecified amount of *fés'o*. While the officer of the lands of Milawa and Bäkwellä is mentioned as Däbru, the officer of that of Delgena is given as Barut. All the officers of the State mentioned in the earlier charter (P.L.a.1.) are also listed here but this charter includes church dignitaries, such as Amha Läs'eyon, the *liqä kahnat* of the region of the Church Egziabher Ab, and Yoséf, *liqä kahnat* of the lowland. The most clear conclusion arising from the study of these two charters (P.L.a.1. and P.L.a.3.) is that the latter might even have been drawn up before the first four months of the sovereign's investiture since *Qalä Has'é* Habtä Maryam appears here without the title of *zhans'erar*.

The charter (P.L.a.4.) states that Emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob renewed the *gult* lands, which Emperor Hezbä Nañ granted to *Liqä Kahnat* Yeshaq and his brother Zär'a Sänbät. According to the charter, unspecified land was given to *Liqä Kahnat* Yeshaq by Emperor Hezbä Nañ for the blessing of the kingdom and also for leading the choir at the Church of Egzi'abhér Ab during the month of Tahsas. The income to the *Liqä Kahnat* from this unspecified land was 12 measures of cereal and 12 *mähaleq* and this *gult* land was to be passed on "to his descendants until the end of the world". The lands of Wabon, Khembät and Bäsqa were granted to *Liqä Kahnat* Yeshaq and his brother Zär'a Sänbät by Emperor Hezbä Nañ and this ordinance was later renewed by Emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob. Here, it is important to note that the lands of Wabon, Khembät and Bäsqa, were granted as *gult* and the payment to the *gult* holders was 11,

3, and 5 measures of cereal respectively. Emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob also authorized the gift of *hayb* or cheese and butter from the lands of Bänina and Qowana during the nine festivals and a constant provision of fish for the *Liqä Kahnat*.

The charter (P.L.a.5.) by Emperor Na'od states that the land of Hässot and Tämäko, which apparently used to be the *gult* land of Bästä Egré, were granted to *Liqä Kahnat* Däqseyos "until the end of the world for the blessing of the kingdom and also for his learned services at the Church of Egzi'abhér Ab". The charter, however, fails to state the reason why these *gult* lands were taken away from Bästä Egré and granted to the *Liqä Kahnat* Däqseyos. Moreover, the charter also states that *Liqä Kahnat* Däqseyos was allowed to receive 3 measures of cereal and fruits from the land of Banna. The charter also goes on to state the grant of the land of Alähwat as *gult* to Särs'ä Wängél by the same sovereign so that he may perform the night services at the same Church of Egzi'abhér Ab.

The charter (P.L.a.7.) reports the grant by Emperor Gälawdéwos of the land of Hwayet to *Abba* Esétä Qwerban "so that he may become teacher of the King's hours". Although the charter states that the land was in the hands of a *däbtära* of the church of Egziabher Ab "for a while", it fails to mention by which sovereign it was given and why it was removed from the previous recipient. The charter also fails to mention the amount of payment *Abba* Esété Qwerban was to receive from his *gult* land. Nevertheless, the charter records that he may give 1 *gwäradé*¹ of honey to the Church of Egziabher Ab whenever he could afford it but if he could not do that, then having gone up to the church, he may perform the incense prayer all over the church for the salvation of Emperor Gälawdéwos' soul.

In 1580, Emperor Särsä Dengel, granted (P.L.a.10.) the land of Gwena as *gult* to *Abba* Be'esé Egzi'abhér and *Abba* Läbawi Krestos. According to the charter, the Emperor granted this *gult* land to these monks while he was going to fight his enemy called Yeshaq, and the reason for his gift is stated as "it may be for the salvation of our

¹ A container of unidentified measure used for honey; see 186(Cr.L.5.).

soul and body". The fact that it mentions a pronouncement of a threat of excommunication against the Chief of *Begemeder* to prevent him from interfering with this arrangement gives a vital clue that the land of Gwena was possibly located in the then province of *Begemeder*.

In 1694, Emperor Iyasu I granted (P.L.a.11.) several pieces of measured lands at *Säqälet* and *Balangäb* to *Ras Wädagé*. According to the charter, 766 *meder* was initially sold to *Ras Yämanä Krestos* by *Maryam Bägo* for 1,000 *wäqét* and 1 gold ring. Out of this total land, 60 *meder* and 15 *bota* were given away by the Emperor as a separate gift to the *däbtära* of the left of the Church of *Däbrä Berhan Sellasé*, but the rest of this land was given to *Ras Wädagé* with the exemption of state tax upon it so that he might give 3 *ch'an* of cereal and 30 bars of salt to the same church. The charter goes on to state that the office of *mezker* for *Säqälet* and *Balangäb* was entrusted to the Church of *Däbrä Berhan*. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that this grant of *gult* land was made to the church well before the building of the church was completed. The charter also includes a pronouncement of a threat of excommunication by *Abunä Marqos*, the *Mämher(s)* of the Monasteries of *Mägwena* and *Wäreq Läbha* as well as priests of various churches. The same sovereign also granted (P.L.a.12.) 900 *meder* at *Särabba* to *Isedros*, *Mäl'akä Berhanat Qäwest'os* and other officers of the Church of *Däbrä Berhan Sellasé*. The charter states that the 300 *meder* were granted to *Isedros* and that he was required to pay the tax to the State. But the remaining 600 *meder* was granted to *Mäl'akä Berhanat Qäwest'os* and other officers of the church and the payment of tax from these lands was stated to be a fifth of the produce of the land. Out of this 600 *meder*, 90 were given to the *Aläqa* and *Liqä Mäzämran* of the church and the payment for both of these officers is stated as 9 *ch'an* of cereal measured in a metal basin which was to be brought for them to Gondar by the people who farmed the land.

Emperor *Bäkafa* is associated with a grant of lands to three individuals. The sovereign granted (P.L.a.13.) land at *Qühari* to *Bäjerond Säfonyas* and *At'ebatä Dengel*

and they were required to celebrate Mass at the Church of Maryam. This grant of land was placed under a threat of excommunication by *Abunä Marqos* and *Ech'ügé Zäwäldä Maryam*. However, *Bäjerond Sofonyas* gave his share of the land to *Abéto Wäldä Yona* during the reign of Emperor Iyasu II and the land is referred to as a *mäsqäl märét*.¹ It is also interesting to note that the reference to the bequest of a *rest* land by *Bäjerond Säfonyas* to the same individual may be the same land as *rest* land could also become *mäsqäl* land whenever the payment of tax on it is transferred from the State to a church.² Another piece of land of a total of 99 *meder* was also granted (P.L.a.14.) to *Dug Abuqir* by the same sovereign and was placed under a threat of excommunication by *Abunä Krestodolu* and *Ech'ügé Zäwäldä Maryam*. The requirement laid down by the Emperor was that *Dug Abuqir* should celebrate Mass at the Church of *Däbrä Berhan Sellasé*. Moreover, 550 *meder* were also granted to *Abéto Wäldä Amlak* as *gult* by the same sovereign.³

Emperor Iyasu II granted (P.L.a.17a.) *Ras Gundé's* land at *Gub Gäbr'él* to *Asälaḥi Eshäté*. The same sovereign also authorized that he give 3 *ch'an* and 1 *däl* of wheat to the Church of *As'as'amé Mika'él* for the preparation of the Eucharist. The same charter goes on to record the grant of *Abéto Ersé's* 150 *meder* for the preparation of the Eucharist but it does not explicitly state whether it was to be held by the Church of *As'as'amé Mika'él* or by the *Asälaḥi*. According to another charter (P.L.a.17b.) written in the manuscript of the Church of *Däbrä Berhan Sellasé*, the same individual also received 10 *meder* at *Gäräma* and 20 *meder* at *Dalko* by the order of Emperor Iyasu II and his mother Empress *Mentewab* and he was required to celebrate Mass at the Church of *Ledäta*. The charter goes on to state that the lands were granted to him during the period of office of *Mämher Zänika'él*, the *aläqa* of the church, and *Azazh Bahrey*, the *wänbär*, and the person who was ordered to have this grant of land written down was the *Sega Mälkäñña Awdäkéwos*. However, the charter (P.L.a.17c.)

¹ 143(P.L.d.4.).

² B. L. Or. 829*, 50v.

³ B. L. Or. 659, 239v.

preserved in the manuscript of the Church of Ledäta records the grant of 20 *meder* at Abagé and another 20 *meder* at Dalko by Emperor Iyasu II to the *Asälaḥi*, but fails to mention Empress Mentewab and the 10 *meder* grant at Gäräma as stated in the other charter (P.L.a.17b.).

Emperor Iyasu II and his mother, Empress Mentewab, renewed (P.L.a.15.) the grant of the land of Qaroda to Arkälédes, to whom they themselves bestowed the title of *däjazmach*, so that he might also provide an income for the three churches which he commissioned to be built on the same land. The charter clearly states that the land of Qaroda was his *rest* and the *rest* of his children and that it was already in his hand at the time of the renewal. This renewal of *rest* land was placed under a threat of excommunication on the order of the Emperor and the Empress by *Abunä Krestodolu* and *Ech'ägé Täklä Haymanot*, the *Mümher* of Däbrä Libanos and other unnamed priests. Emperor Iyasu II and Empress Mentewab also granted (P.L.a.16.) land of a tax of 4 *shämma*¹ to *Re'esä Däbr Suré* and he was required to celebrate Mass at the Church of Däbrä S'ähay Qwesqwam. The charter ends with words, possibly dictated by the *re'esä däbr* himself: "[May God] renew his kingdom. Let whoever violates this [ordinance] be anathematized by the power of Peter and Paul".

The charters by Emperor Iyo'as I show that the sovereign granted lands on three occasions to individuals only in collaboration with Empress Mentewab. In 1765, the sovereigns granted (P.L.a.21.) their Qwesqwam land of 20 *meder* in *as'é gämäd* at Dalko to *Liqé Haylu* free of tax, but he was required to celebrate Mass at the Church of Däbrä S'ähay Qwesqwam. The land was, however, held by *Liqé Marqos* and it is not entirely clear how it ended up in the hands of the sovereigns. The fact that *Ras Wäldä Le'ul*, the Empress' elder brother and the then most senior official of the State, was ordered to have it written down and the provision of a list of seven distinguished personalities, most of them being judges, clearly gives an indication that the land might have been appropriated by the State. Another charter (P.L.a.20a.) by the same

¹ A land of a tax of 4 *shämma* is equal to 1 *gasha*.

sovereigns states that 60 *meder* at Säraba was granted to *Balambāras* Eshäté by taking it away from the *gasha jagré*. This land used to belong to *Emäbét* Qärné before it was given to the *gasha jagré* and attached to the grant of this land is a requirement from him to celebrate Mass at the Church of Däbrä S'ähay Qwesqwam. The person who was ordered to have it written down is *Shaläqa* Awdäkéwos, the *Sega Mälkäñña*. However, according to another charter preserved in the manuscript of the Church of Ledäta, 8 *meder* at Säraba was granted to the *Balambaras* by the Empress, who is reported to have said, "May you celebrate Mass at [the Church of] Däbrä Berhan" and the person who was ordered to have this ordinance written down in churches and possibly in State records was the same *sega mälkäñña*. The variation in numbers is obviously due to a scribal error where 8 is written instead of 60. Moreover, there is a charter (P.L.a.25.) by the same sovereigns which records the grant of several lands as *gult* to *Däjazmach* Eshäté as a reward for a successful campaign against the Galla. He was granted *gult* lands consisting of 22 villages for himself and an additional 2 villages, which formed a tenth of the land which he received after the division of the estates of the children of *Däjazmach* Wäräñña. A condition attached to the gift of these regions was that he should provide an income for the celebration of Mass at the Church of Däbrä S'ähay Qwesqwam. *Däjazmach* Eshäté, a relation of the Empress Mentewab, was referred to in this charter as a man from the region of Agäw and is the same person who gained rapid promotion, as already seen above, from *asälafi* to *balambaras* and then to *däjazmach*.

Moreover, there were two occasions on which a grant and a renewal of *gult* lands were made to individuals independently by Empress Mentewab during the reign of the juvenile Emperor Iyo'as I. According to a charter (P.L.a.22.) Empress Mentewab granted the 5 *gasha* at Menaqos, which were given to her by *Wäyzäro* Wälanya, to *Shaläqa* Awdäkéwos stating that he was to provide an income for the celebration of Mass at the Church of Däbrä S'ähay Qwesqwam. The charter also records that this land was first given to *Wäyzäro* Wälanya by Emperor Bäkafa. Another charter (P.L.a.23.) by the same sovereign also states that entitlement to the land of the people

of Damot and Reb, a *gult* land of *Wäyzäro* Amättä S'eyon, was renewed, perhaps, after her death, to her son, *Agafari* Kenfu. "Additionally," the same charter continues, "the 40 *meder* at *Wämbärgé*", but it stops there at the bottom end of the folio due to lack of space. Empress Mentewab not only granted land to individuals, but she also gave bought *botas* to individuals. Empress Mentewab gave (P.L.a.19.) *bota(s)*, which she bought from *Bäjerond Wäldä Dawit* for 15 *wäqét*, to 18 *däbtära(s)* of the Church of *Adäbabay Iyäsus*. While 1 *bota* of this unspecified land was given to *Zäwäldu* and the son of *Abba Wäldä Giyorgis*, the rest was divided amongst 16 named individuals. Moreover, there is a note which records the grant of *Däjazmach Arkälädis' bota* to *Ech'ägé Hénok* by Empress Mentewab.¹ This *bota* was bought by her for 20 *wäqét*.

Emperor *Täklä Haymanot II* granted *gult* lands to individuals on seven occasions for a variety of reasons. While two of his charters are dated, four of them contain a threat of excommunication. In 1774, he granted (P.L.a.27.) 22 *meder* and a *bota* at *Jäwana*, the *rest* land of *Wasé* and *Adäru*, to *Wäyzäro Mesrach* and attached to the grant of this *gult* land was an authorization by the Sovereign that she should provide an income for the celebration of Mass at the Church of *Ba'eta*. In 1777, the same sovereign also granted (P.L.a.28.) a piece of land assessed for a tax of 20 *shämma* at *Egul Mälza*, taking it away from the *Azazh* of *Wähni*, to *Abéto Säädäf* and *Abéto Däfäch'*. The charter goes on to state that the *gult* land was given to them by the Emperor when *Abéto Säädäf* was wounded at *Emäkina* as "the price of blood" and they were also required to build a Church of *Mädhané Aläm* and provide an income for the celebration of Mass in it and also in the Church of *Bä'ata*. The same sovereign also granted (P.L.a.29.) Empress *Élarya's* land of a tax of 2 *ch'an* of cereal at *Saled* to *Mämher Wäldä Abib* saying, "May you celebrate mass at the church of *Qeddus Gäbr'él*". The fact that *Chämäni Berkä Dawit* is made to take an oath regarding this land in the presence of the Emperor, saying, "Emperor, I will never reach in front of you [again]" clearly signals the fact that it was taken from him. The charter is

¹ B. L. Or. 776, 10r.

concluded with a prayer that God “May weaken the enemies of the Emperor, prolong his life and serve his soul”. The same sovereign also granted (P.L.a.31.) *gult* land of a total of 125 *gasha* in seven regions and a further 85 [*as’él*] *gämäd* land at Fogära to *Ras Ayadar* saying, “May you commission a Church of *Abunä Täklä Haymanot*”. Moreover, there is a charter (P.L.a.32.), which records the grant of a *gult* land by the same sovereign at Kakka Enäbsén to *Abéto T’erpadir* as a reward for a commendable work, which in fact implies his bravery in war and he was authorized to provide an income for the celebration of Mass in a church which is not clearly stated. According to the charter, the *gult* land of Kakka Enäbsén used to be held by a certain Yonakendis, who perhaps also acted as a judge in this region. As the transfer of the office of judicial affairs to the Church of Kwer’attä Re’esu is mentioned in the Charter, the *Abéto* was thus only entitled to the tax from the land; it is possible to assume that he was required to provide an income for the celebration of Mass in the same church. He was also authorized to pay a tax of 1 *wäqét* whenever there was a campaign so that it might be given to the carrier of the icon of Kwer’attä Re’esu. Emperor Täklä Haymanot II also granted 38 *meder* and 12 *bota* at Jangwa and Qebra’él, which was in the hands of *Käntiba* Bes’a Giyorgis, to *Asülañi Wäldä Mika’él* and he was authorized to provide an income of 1 *ch’an* of wheat and 10 bars of salt for the celebration of Mass at the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé.¹ The person who was authorized to have this grant of *gult* land written down is *Azmach Wäldä Dawit*. *Azmach Wäldä Dawit* was also authorized to have written down the statement which states the grant (P.L.a.30.) of *gult* lands of a tax of 35 *wäqét* by the same Sovereign to *Abéto Abésélom*, the son of Addarqay Gäbru.² The charter was thus written by *Qäñ Géta Wasé*, one of the most senior officials of the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé.

Emperor Sälonon II is associated with seven grants of *gult* lands of his own and the transfer of tax of already granted *gult* lands to churches on two occasions.

¹ B.L. Or. 777, 12v.

² Addarqay is perhaps used as a reference to Gäbru's region as Addi Arqay is a town near the present day boarder of Tigray and Bégemedet.

Moreover, the Emperor is also reported as having renewed a *gult* land, which was granted to *Däjazmach* Wänd Bāwäsān by his predecessor, Emperor Täklä Haymanot II.¹ The charter goes on to state that the land was allotted to *däbtära(s)* and the *Däjazmach* was authorized to provide an income of 500 candles and 100 *wäqét* for the celebration of Mass at an unspecified church. Emperor Sälonon also transferred an income of tax from the State to the two churches. The children of *Wäyzäro* Wälättä Dengel were authorized (P.L.a.41.) by the same sovereign to pay 10 *ladan* of raisons to the Church of As'as'amé Mika'él instead of unspecified payment of tax to the State on the *gult* land of their mother. Moreover, *Wäyzäro* Wälättä Giyorgis, the daughter of Dägafi Mammo, was authorized (P.L.a.35.) to provide an unspecified income to the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé as a tax on the land of Bägäla, which was kept as *gult* by her family for 171 years.

According to a charter (P.L.a.37.) by Emperor Sälonon, *Azazh* Mäb'a's land of a tax of 10 *ch'an* of cereal at Fänja was returned to his son, *Azazh* Lebso, who was authorized to provide an income for the celebration of Mass at the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé. The same charter goes on to state that details of this authorization was written in the books of eight *wänbärs* and the grant of this land was placed under a threat of an excommunication by *Abunä* Yosab and *Ech'ägé* Täsfu. What is so different about this charter is that the names of the two emperors, the bishop, the *ech'ägé* and the previous recipient of the *gult* land are written in red. Another charter (P.L.a.33.) by the same sovereign, written in 1777/78 A.D., also records a grant of 3 regions to *Wäyzäro* Sahlu, the daughter of Shech'an Mammo. The same sovereign is also reported to have waived the payment of the tax of the lands to the State but she was authorized to pay a lower tax of 3 *ch'an* of cereal to the Church of As'as'amé Mika'él. The same sovereign and *Ras* Haylu also granted (P.L.a.39.) 2 regions of Mäs'is'e Lebso's *gult* lands, Däbrägan and Dälgin, and also the trade gate tax of Dälgin to *Mäl'akä S'ähay* Rob'am and was authorized to celebrate Mass at the Church of

¹ B. L. Or. 829*, 47v.

As'as'amé Mika'él. Another copy of this charter, which additionally bears the signature of *Mäl'akä Sälam* Natan, is also preserved in another manuscript.¹ Furthermore, Emperor Sälonon II and *Ras* Haylu also granted (P.L.a.40.) Akalé's, the rebel, 1 *gasha* land at Enqash to *Shaläqa* Awkendeyos and he was authorized to provide an income of 1 *ch'an* of wheat and 10 bars of salt to the Church of Hamärä Noh. In order to make sure that he paid the specified amount of payment to the church, *Shaläqa* Natna'él was given as the guarantor. There is also a charter (P.L.a.38.) which states a grant of a *gult* land of a total tax of 13 *ch'an* of cereal in Walwaj, Gändäwa and Dablo by Emperor Sälonon to *Shaläqa* Täzkaro, who was authorized to provide an income for the celebration of Mass at the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé. But later on, the charter goes on to state, the family of *Shaläqa* Täzkaro failed to provide 1 *ch'an* of cereal for the celebration of Mass at the same church regarding the 30 *meder* at Dablo and the land was given to Empress Mänän by her husband Emperor Yohannes III and the *däbtära(s)* of the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé.

Emperor Täklä Giyorgis and *Ras* Haylu renewed the *gult* lands given to *Abéto* Zär'a Beruk, which was previously given to him by Empress Mentewab.² The same sovereign also granted *gult* lands on his own right to several individuals. Emperor Täklä Giyorgis gave (P.L.a.43.) the lands of Zogga, Mäsqänech and Bafäräwanat to *Däjazmach* Wäldä Gäbr'él for welcoming him and helping him heal his wounds and the land of Gunna was also given to him for helping the sovereign to be crowned after he had been kept as a detainee for nine years at the hand of the Galla. The lands of Dabr, Gänta, Dänqor and Endabét were given to the *Däjazmach* for separating the Christians from the Galla. Moreover, the regions of Qäñ Dogämo and Gera Dogämo, the *Däjazmach's* own father Yohannes' regions, were given to him by the Emperor for weakening the sovereign's enemies. Emperor Täklä Giyorgis also granted (P.L.a.58.) the *gult* land of *Wäyzäro* Amättä Iyäsus, the barren, to *Wäyzäro* Le'ul Sämrä stating that she should provide an income for the celebration of Mass at the Church of

¹ B. L. Or. 508, 286v.

² B. L. Or. 776, 272v.

As'as'amé Mika'él. The *gult* land of *Däjazmach* Bédgwo, however, was returned to him by the same sovereign after he had campaigned at Adona.¹ This land, stretching from Sämära up to Säräqwa, was previously given as a *gult* to *Däjazmach* Mammo, the father of *Däjazmach* Bédgwo, by Emperor Iyasu [?II] as a reward for his campaign at Asim. The Emperor granted (P.L.a.57.) Zämäläkot's land of a tax of 4 *ch'an* of barley at Wäborgé to T'äbärgé Gosh and his relatives stating that they should pay instead 2 *ch'an* of wheat to the Church of Kidanä Mehrät for the preparation of the Eucharist. Moreover, the Emperor, towards the end of his reign, returned land (P.L.a.47.) to the descendants of Emperor Gälawdéwos. In 1787, Emperor Täklä Giyorgis returned the land to *Wäyzäro* Gäläbu, the mother of *Ras* Ali, and her relatives their land, which was taken away from them due to religious differences. According to the charter, half of the land was given to her and the other half to her relatives and they were authorized to commission a Church of Gälawdéwos.

Emperor Iyasu III and his wife Empress Yätämäñu granted (P.L.a.46.) several *gult* lands to *Wäyzäro* Webit's children. The charter lists nine regions and it seems that these lands might already have been *gult* lands of *Wäyzäro* Webit, the daughter of Emperor Bäkafa, and it is, thus, possible that the sovereigns were simply renewing these *gult* lands to her children. Indeed, there is evidence to strengthen such suggestion as the sovereigns are also reported to have granted (P.L.a.44.) land at Barwara in Gäla to *Käntiba* Qenwat which in fact turns out to be a renewal of the land given to him by Emperor Sälonon II.² Emperor Iyasu III granted (P.L.a.49.) an income of 10 *ch'an* of cereal from the lands of Jayra and Ch'ehra S'eyon, a tax which used to be given to a *ras*, to Lafto Käbté and his children and also to his wife, *Wäyzäro* Tebläs'e.³ The way it is stated in the charter seems to give the impression that Lafto Käbté had either children from another wife or he himself was already dead and that it was given to his children and his wife. There is also a charter by the same sovereign which records a

¹ B. L. Or. 637, 2r.

² B. L. Or. 776, 9v.; the region appears here as Bar'arwa.

³ B. L. Or. 777, 10r.

grant of a large estate (P.L.a.45.) to a certain person Qäs'äla. Copies of the same charter are preserved in two other manuscripts.¹ The Emperor gave all the *dügga* and *qolla*² lands of *Agafari Sät'äñ*, which apparently stretches from *Ferafur* up to *Jänaho*, and was authorized to provide an unspecified income for the celebration of Mass at the Church *Däbrä S'ähay Qwesqwam*. The charter states that an anathema was pronounced by *Abunä Yosab* and *Ech'ägé Täsfu*. However, the writer's concern for the new owner of the land in keeping away any potential claimant to the land, even after it was placed under a threat of excommunication by the highest clerics of the land, is clearly shown when he concludes the charter with the word: "May they help him".³

Moreover, Emperor Iyasu III also granted (P.L.a.48) *Wäyzäro Wälättä Gäbr'él's* 20 *meder* and 10 *bota* at *Wägäzgé* to *Wedaj*, the son of *Wäyzäro Terengo* and *Abéto Engeda*. This *rest* land used to belong to *Keflä Maryam* and was sold for 30 *wäqét* to *Wäyzäro Wälättä Gäbr'él* during the reign of Emperor Iyasu II after keeping the remaining one-third, which is stated to be 10 *meder* and 5 *bota*, for the *balä abat*.⁴ *Wedaj* was authorized to provide 1 *ch'an* of cereal and 10 bars of salt for the celebration of mass at the church of *Däbrä Berhan Sellasé*.⁵ Besides the 12 officers of the church, the 4 scholars and four *azazh(s)* of the church and unspecified number of *wänbär(s)*, it is stated that a further 150 *däbtära* also know of this grant of *gult* land.

Emperor Hezqeyas granted (P.L.a.51a.) *Dändé's bota* to *Asälafi Qwench'a* and was authorized to provide 3 *madega* of wheat and 3 bars of salt for the celebration of Mass at the Church of *Mädhané Aläm*.⁶ However, a similar charter preserved in another manuscript of the same church also states that he was required to provide 3 *madega* of wheat and 5 bars of salt.⁷ The same sovereign also granted (P.L.a.50.) the meadow of *Zälan* at *Angärüb* to *Bäsha Saleh* and was authorized to provide for the the

¹ B. L. Or. 776, 10v and B. L. Or. 777, 286v.

² Lowland below 5000 feet.

³ See also B. L. Or. 776, 10v.

⁴ B. L. Or. 777, 8r.

⁵ B. L. Or. 777, 8r.

⁶ B. L. Or. 518, 16r.

⁷ B. L. Or. 644, 4r.

celebration of mass with 150 *wäqét* of incense at the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé. Here, it is important to note the requirement for Muslims to take part in the provision of an income for church services. Moreover, the same sovereign granted (P.L.a.52.) the meadow of Gälawdéwos to *Azazh Däylé* and was also authorized to provide mass at the same church. This grant of land was placed under a threat of excommunication by the *Abun* and the *Ech'ägé* in the court at the crowning of Empress Mäsäläch. However, this grant of land was also placed under a threat of an excommunication by the same bishop, *Abunä Yosab*, when it was just given to *Däjazmach Wäldä Gäbr'él* by Emperor Iyasu III.¹

Emperor Yonas granted (P.L.a.56.) the 9 *ch'an* tax of Ch'ello, which used to be given to the *S'ühafé Te'ezaz*, to *Afü Negus La'ekä Maryam* and he was required to celebrate mass at the church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé. However, the official, the charter goes on to state, "gave 7 *ch'an* of [of cereal] to [the church of] Ch'ello S'eyon and a *ch'an* [of cereal] to [the Church of Däbrä Berhan] Sellasé and he kept 2 *ch'an* [of cereal] for himself". According to this record, a total of 10 *ch'an* of cereal is exacted as tax from the region but this enormous total is merely achieved by a careless writer who failed to write 6 correctly instead of 7 in the Ethiopian numerals. What is obvious from the record is that the official had acted wisely in supporting the local church generously instead of the wealthy Church of Däbrä Berhan as suggested by the sovereign. It seems that he had fulfilled his duty by giving 1 *ch'an* of cereal to the stated church of Däbrä Berhan and the gift of 6 *ch'an* to another church as dictated by his reason was not something which brought him in direct conflict either with the officers of the Church of Däbrä Berhan or with the sovereign himself. Another charter written during the brief reign of the same sovereign also states that the sovereign granted (P.L.a.55.) an income of 8 *ch'an* and 8 *madega* of cereal from the land at Tenkulengé to his mother, *Wäyzäro Berch'eqo*. The charter goes on to state that from this income, 5 *madega* is to be given to a certain Ch'aqern and the person who was to celebrate mass on her behalf

¹ B. L. Or. 777, 7v.

was *Abba Wässän*. According to the postscript, Emperor *Täklä Giyorgis* not only renewed her *gult* land but he also waived the 8 *wäqét*, which the *gänta(s)* gave to the *Käntiba*.

Emperor *Egwalä S'eyon* granted *gult* lands of a rather smaller size to individuals at least on 19 occasions. The two charters selected in this study state that the recipients of such *gult* lands were authorized by the Emperor *Egwalä S'eyon* to provide Mass at the Church of *Däbrä Berhan Sellasé*. According to his charters, this sovereign was, perhaps, more generous to Muslims. The sovereign granted (P.L.a.60.) a large land at *Azäzo*, which apparently used to be that of *Ras Abdyé*, to *Mädsaleh* and was authorized to provide service to the church of *Däbrä Berhan Sellasé* by sewing vestments of the church.¹ Moreover, he also granted additional town lands of *Ras Abdyé*, perhaps, at *Azäzo* to him. This grant of land was not only placed under a threat of excommunication by *Ech'ägé Wäldä Yona*, but also the charter itself was written, at the sovereign's order, in the presence of *Liqé Haylu*. The same sovereign also granted (P.L.a.59.) the sling maker's land of a tax of 1 *ch'an* of cereal at *Däräsgé*, which was previously given to an *azazh* of royal hall, to *Hajji Saleh*. It is clearly stated that *Hajji Saleh* was entitled to two-thirds of the income from the land while the remaining one-third was left for *Käbté* and *Wekät*, the people who farmed the lands.

Emperor *Iyo'as II* granted extensive lands as *gult* to two distinguished personalities of his reigning years. A total of 120 *wäqét* gold, which was the tax of the lands at *Yäjju* and *Lasta*, was granted (P.L.a.62.) to *Däjazmach Haylä Maryam*² by Emperor *Iyo'as II* as a *gult* so that it may "be for your son's *gult* [or] your daughter's dowry". This *gult* land was given to him by the Emperor at the suggestion of *Ras Gugsä* in order to compensate for the loss of 1,700 of his soldiers in two wars. *Däjazmach Maru* also was granted (P.L.a.61.) extensive *gult* land by the same sovereign and was authorized to provide an income for the celebration of Mass at the Church of *Ledäta*.

¹ It also appears as *Emäd Saleh*; see B. L. Or. 777, 17r.

² He also received a *gult* land at *Barko* by Emperor *Egwalä S'eyon*; see B. L. Or. 777, 282r.

Emperor Gigar granted (P.L.a.63.) the partridge trapper's land and also *Azmach* Keflé's land at Walwaj to *Aläqa* Täsfa Mika'él and was authorized to celebrate Mass at the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé. *Azmach* Keflé's land was, however, later granted to *Aläqa* Est'ifanos by Emperor Iyasu IV (1830-32) who also authorized him to provide an income of 2 *madega* of wheat for the celebration of mass at the same church.¹

Emperor Sahlä Dengel granted (P.L.a.64.) numerous regions as a *gult* to *Däjazmach* Webé so that he might provide an income for the celebration of Mass at the church of Däräsgé Maryam. The charter generally records a grant to the clergy of Däräsgé Maryam, but fails to specify in what form it was given to them. The fact that it continues to state the grant of regions to *Däjazmach* Webé for the purpose of providing an income for the celebration of Mass at the church makes it plain that he was the holder of the *gult* lands and that it was not different from others, as already seen above, except that, in this case, it lists the grant of extensive territories. According to the charter, some of the lands used to be *gult* lands of his father, *Ras* Gäbré, and others were inherited by him upon the death of his mother, *Wäyzäro* Gemja. Thus, the Emperor, besides adding other extensive regions, was simply renewing *gult* lands of his family to *Däjazmach* Webé. This *gult* land was placed under a threat of excommunication by an *ech'ägé* and the clergy of 44 churches and three monasteries and it was decided that the Church of Däräsgé become a monastery. During the official ceremony of the grant of the *gult* land, a chair of an *abun* was brought out in his absence in order to make his presence felt at the time of the pronouncement of an anathema by the church clerics.

¹ B. L. Or. 777, 18r.

46. P.L.a.1. Amdä S'eyon to Yagba S'eyon.

Dated 1314.

In praise of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. I, Amdä S'eyon, have granted the land of Yämba to Yagba S'eyon, after we have reigned for four months, in [the presence of] *Qalä Has'é Jans'erar Géta* Habtä Maryam, *Géta* Tükästä Berhän, *Géta* Astä'akäluñ, *Jan Aqamba* Tükästä Berhän, *Shobher Zär'a* Maryam, *Afä Aqamba* Häbtä S'eyon, *Mälkäñña(s) Géta* Beshalé and *Géta* Tükästä Berhän. And the name of the chief of the land is Yädäräbayä. I, Amdä S'eyon, have also granted the land of Mengash to Yagba S'eyon together with the land of Yämba. And the tax of Yämba [is] 54 *shämma*, 50 measures [of] grain, 15 [measures of] honey, 20 sheep, 7 [bars of] salt, 5 axes, 5 sickles. The tax of Yämba for rope and leather thong [is] 5 *dawela* [of cereal]. And as in the law of Israel, [the tax is] 2 *qerana* with *mälämmäch'a*¹ [and] 4 [bars of] salt and 4 *bédo*² *fés'o* every month. And the tax of the land of Mengash is 50 measures of cereal, 10 [measures of] honey, 10 sheep every month, 10 *shämma*, 1 *dawela* [of cereal], 1 sickle, 1 axe, 2 *qerana* with *mälämmäch'a* as in the law of Israel and the salt [to be given is] 4 bars and 4 *bédo fés'o* every month. And the chief of the land of Me[n]gash³ [is] Téwodros.

(B. L. Or. 481, 124r.)

47a. P.L.a.2a. Amdä S'eyon to S'äbälä Mika'él.

1314-44.

And the land of Gä[n]zha, I, King Amdä S'eyon, have given as *gult* to S'äbälä Mika'él. And the tax of Gänzha is 70 measures of cereal, 10 [measures of] honey, 2 cows, the *qerana* [is] 2 and the *mälämmäch'a* [is to be given] with 8 bars of salt and baskets. And the name of the officer of the land is Officer Yagba.

(B. L. Or. 481, 124r.)

¹ A short leather strap.

² A basket holding 4 *qunna* ; see Dästa, p. 155.

³ It also appears as Megashé.

47b. P.L.a.2b. Amdä S'eyon to S'äbälä Mika'él

1314-44.

[The tax of] the *gult* land, which Emperor Amdä S'eyon gave to S'äbälä Mika'él [is] 80 measures [of cereal], 2 *qera[na]*¹, 4 bars [of salt] with the *mälämmäch'ä* of various sizes. [The tax to be given] during Easter [is] 5 *häraba*² of honey [and] 1 cow and, during [Qeddus] Yohannes³, [it is] 5 [*häraba* of] honey and 1 bullock. [This is] the tax of Gänzha. The tax of S'älgo is 70 measures of cereal, 12 *shämma*, 2 *qerana*, 4 *gäbäch'*⁴ of various sizes [and] 4 bars [of salt].

(B. L. Or. 481, 208r.)

48. P.L.a.3. Amdä S'eyon to Keflä Mika'él

1314-44.

I, Amdä S'eyon, have given the land of Bäkwela and Milawa to Keflä Mika'él and the tax is 10 measures of cereal, 10 *kära* of honey, 2 *qerana* with *mälämmäch'a* and 2 bars of salt every month with *fés'o*. And I have also given the land of Delgena as *gult* to Keflä Mika'él and the tax is 50 measures of cereal and 50 [measures of] honey with 2 *qerana* and 8 bars [of salt] every month with *fés'o*. And the officer of the land of Milawa [and] Bäkwela is called Däbru. And the officer of the land of Delgana is [also] called Barut. [These *gult* lands are given] in [the presence of] *Qalä Häs'é Häbtä Maryam* and *Astü'käluñ Jan*, *Aqamba Täküstä Berhan*, *Shobher Zär'a Maryam*, *Afä Aqamba Häbtä S'eyon*, *Mälkäñña(s) Beshlé* and *Täküstä Berhan*, *Amha Läs'eyon*, the *Lqä Kahnat* of [the Church of] *Egzi'abhér Ab*, [and] *Yoséf*, the *Liqä Kahnat* of the lowland.

(B. L. Or. 481, 124r.)

¹ Ms. ፳፯፻, perhaps the same as ፳፯፻.

² A container of an unidentified amount of honey.

³ New year's day.

⁴ Perhaps the same as *gäbäté*, a hollow wooden container of various sizes.

49. P.L.a.4. Hezbä Nañ to Yeshaq.

Later renewed by Zär'a Ya'eqob.

1434-68.

In praise of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. The land which our King Hezbä Nañ gave to *Liqä Kahnat* Yeshäq in the former years [was] for the blessing of the kingdom and also for serving at [the Church of] Egzi'abhér Ab during the month of Tahsas. The tax which they give him is 12 measures [of cereal and] 12 *mähä[le]q* to his descendants up to the end of the world. I, Zär'a Ya'eqob, whose reign name is Qwost'änt'inos, have also given the land of Wabon to *Liqä Kahnat* Yeshäq and his brother Zär'a Sänbät as our father instituted. And the tax [to be given] to him is 11 measures [of cereal]. [And the tax to be given] to [the teacher of] the book of Horologium during Easter on the 4th day after the Crucifixion is 3 measures [of cereal] from Hembät and 5 measures [of cereal] from Bäsqa - all this being for the night services at [the Church of] Egzi'abhér Ab. Additionally, cheese and butter [is to be given] from Bänina and Qowana for food after Mass [to the clergy] during the 9 festivals.¹ And we have [also] established an ordinance that fishermen shall always [provide fish] for the *Liqä Kahnat*.

(B. L. Or. 481, 124v.)

50. P.L.a.5. Na'od to Däqseyos and Särs'ä Wängél

1494-1508.

In praise of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. I, Na'od, have given [the land of] Hasot and Tämbäko during my [reigning] years to *Liqä Kahnat* Däqseyos, which formerly was *gult* land of Bästä Egré. And now, taking it away [from Bästä Egré], I have given it to Däqseyos up to the end of the world for² the blessing of the Kingdom and also for his learned services at [the Church of] Egzi'abher Ab. I have also established an ordinance for him [allowing a tax of] 3 measures [of cereal] with *Terengo*³ and Lemon. I have also given the land of Aläkhät to Särs'a Wängél [so that

¹ The Incarnation, The Birth of Christ, Epiphany, Palm Sunday, Crucifixion, Easter, The Transfiguration, The Ascension and Pentecost.

² ፬፻፲ instead of ፬፻፲.

³ Special citrus fruit, citron.

he may] perform the night services. [Let whoever] robs [the *gult* land] and violates [this ordinance be anathematized].

(B. L. Or. 481, 133r.)

51. P.L.a.6. Zär'a Ya'eqob to Amdä Berhan.

Later renewed by Lebnä Dengel.

1508-40.

In praise of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Our King Zär'a Ya'eqob, named Qwost'änt'inos by the grace of God, gave the land of Säba to Amdä Berhan for the services¹ at [the Church of] Egzi'abher Ab. Our King Lebnä Dengel also gave [the land] so that it may stay unchanged by the ordinance of Emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob. And the tax of Säba is 24 measures [of cereal], 1 *qurapa*² and 7 *gäbüch'* every month. [The tax] for Easter and also for Yohannes is 12 chickens, 12 [measures of] butter, 1 [measure of] honey and 1 [bar of] salt. [The tax] for the 2 months' fast is 200 fish every eight days and during holy festivals, they [must] provide firewood and make a fence for his house.

(B. L. Or. 481, 124v.)

52. P.L.a.7. Gälawdéwos to Esété Qwerban.

1540-59.

Formerly, the *gult* of Hwayet was [held] for a time by the *däbtära* of [the Church of] Egzi'abher Ab. But, now our King Gälawdéwos has given to *Abba* Esétä Qwerban so that he may become Keeper of the King's hours. And he may give 1 *gwäradé* [of honey] to [the Church of] Egzi'abhér Ab whenever he could [afford it] but if he could not,[then] having gone up [to the church], he may perform the incense prayer all over [the church] for [the saviour of] the King. King Gälawdéwos has done this [in the presence of] the *Aqamba* and *Shobher* and *Afü Aqamba* E[n]geda Zhan and *Mülküñña* Gäbrä Amlak and *Qalä Häs'é* Enqo and Kuba and *Liqä Kahnat* Fasilädäs. Let whoever

¹ Lit., "message". In the text, it implies service on behalf of the Emperor, i.e., official duties concerning the monarch.

² Ms. 𐌺𐌹𐌸, perhaps the same as 𐌺𐌹𐌺.

robs [this *gult* land] and violates [the ordinance] be anathematized by the tongue of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and also by the words of Peter and Paul. Amen. And we have also appointed E[n]gedo, the *Aqamba*, as officer for the land of Amba, from one edge of the territory to the other. He gave [the *gult* land] of Qolla Kahnat [in] Hwayet¹ [including] the *mäsqäl* [*märét*], the town [and the land where] the Church [is situated] with all the uninhabited [land] to *Abba* Esétä Qwerban.

(B. L. Or. 481, 92v.)

53. P.L.a.8. Gälawdéwos to Asa'enä Maryam. 1540-59.

After this, our King Gälawdéwos established an ordinance regarding *Liqä Kahnat Fasilädäs'* [*gult*] land at Khefta, which was formerly in the hand of the *Aqamba*, [who is] the keeper of the Amba. And now, [the King] has given the benefit [from the *gult* land] to Asa'enä Maryam, the *Aqamba*, from its edge up to its territory during his tenure of office and [during the time that] Hallib [was] the *Shobher*, Särs'é, the *Afä Aqamba* and Gäbrä Amlak, the *Mälkäñña*. Let whoever robs [the *gult* land] and violates [the ordinance] be anathematized by the mouth of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

(B. L. Or. 481, 92r.)

54. P.L.a.9. Gälawdéwos to Ezra. 1540-59.

Formerly, *Abba* Bäseru used to hold [the *gult* land of] S'ängwa together with a church [and] several *meder*. Afterwards Gälawdéwos, our King, gave it to Ezra, the *Mämher* of the *Täbot* of Geshän Sellasé, as *gult* [and is] separate from the *däbtära's* land, all of which was formerly at Dafenta. Let no one who is appointed as *mämher* after him interfere [in this arrangement] except his children.

(B. L. Or. 481, 124v.)

¹ Ms. Khayet.

55. P.L.a.10. Särs'ä Dengel to Be'esé Egzi'abhér and Lābawi Krestos. Dated 1580. This book is written with the aid of Our Lady Mary by the order of King Särs'ä Dengel, who is named Mälak Sägäd. We say like this: "When we have reigned for 17 years (1580), at the time when we were going to fight our enemy Yeshäq, we have given the land of Gwena to *Abba* Be'esé Egzi'abher and to *Abba* Lābawi Krestos so that it may be for the salvation of our soul and body. [We have given this] in the presence of the *West' Azaj*, Bähäylä Sellus, and *Qäñ Géta* Bänadléwos and *Gera Géta* Sankoris and *Liqä Mäzämran* Nābaré Maryam and *Liqä Däbtära* Fetä Dengel and *Mäzämran Géta* Mälo and *Abba* Zädengel, the *patriarch* himself, [and] *S'erag Masäre* *Abba* Täklä Wäld, *Géta* Géra, the *däbtära*, and Täklä Häymanot and *Bét T'äbaqi Géta* *Abba* Zämaryam [and] *Liqä Mäs'ané* Maryam Nazé and *Qaqétach* Bäräkat. We say thus: If anyone enters in that land even if [he be] a governor, or a Chief of Begemeder, or an *azmach*, or anyone who rises up in the future by gaining favour before the King, or any other monk who violates this word of ours, then let him be our enemy and rebel against our Kingdom. And again, let him be anathematized by the words of Peter and Paul and also by the mouth of the 318 Just Fathers, the lights of the world; and also by the mouth of our Lady Mary and also by our mouth [let him be] anathematized, cut off and expelled from the Christian Community and separated like Arius, Nestorius, Leon and Judas, the betrayer. Amen. And [let] whoever erases the record of it, be [anathematized]. Let it be. Let it be.

(B. L. Or. 650, 7r.)

56. P.L.2.11. Iyasu I to Wädagé. Dated 1694. When Emperor Iyasu, Adyam Sägäd, had reigned for twelve years, [at the time] when he was building [the Church of] Däbrä Berhan [Sellasé], the 766 *meder* at Säqält [and] Balangäb, which Maryam Bägo sold to *Ras* Yämanä Krestos for 1,000 *wäqét* and 1 ring, subtracting 60 *meder* [and] 15 *bota* [from it] for Däbrä Berhän, [Emperor Iyasu gave the remainder] to *Ras* Wädage saying: "Let him [provide an income for] the celebration of Mass at [the Church of] Däbrä Berhän [Sellasé], giving 3 *ch'an* of wheat

[and] 30 [bars of] salt for the incense". He [also] said: "Let not [the payment of] the tax be imposed upon him. [And let] the *mezker* for [the lands of] Säqält and Balangäb [be the *aläqa* of the Church of] Däbrä Berhän [Sellasé]". [The people] who are allocated the 60 *meder* and 15 *bota* are the *gera däbtära*. So that this [ordinance] may not be violated, an anathema [was pronounced] by the words of *Abunä Marqos* [and] by [the words] of the *Mämher(s)* of [the monasteries of] Mägwena and Wärq Läbha. All the Qomoses¹ and priests pronounced an anathema saying: "Let whoever violates and transgresses this [ordinance] be grouped with Arius, Nestorius and Macedonius". Amen.

(B. L. Or. 481, 4r.)

57. P.L.a.12. Iyasu I to Isedros, Qäwest'os and others. 1682-1706.
When Emperor Iyasu returned on the 7th Tahsas, after celebrating Mass at the Church of *Abunä Zäkaryas* at Gälila, [and] when he [was] allocating the land of Säraba - the land of Säraba is 900 [*meder*]. Dividing a third of it, 300 *meder*, he gave [it] to Isedros saying: "Let him pay the tax". He gave the 600 *meder* to *Mäl'akä Berhanat* Qäwest'os and to the chiefs for [the payment of] *amesteya*. From the 90 *meder*, which is situated within the 600 *meder*, having brought [the payment of] the tax to Gondär, they must 9 *ch'an* [of cereal measured] in *bert* to the *Aläqa* and the *Liqä Mäzämran*. The *däbtära* who are entitled to [a *rim*] at Bäwa, [are]: 10 at Ch'ägan, 10 at Janhoy [and] 10 at Säqälet. The total number of the [pieces of] land is 240 [and the share of] *bota* for each *däbtära* is 2.

(B. L. Or. 481, 4r.)

58. P.L.a.13. Bäkafa to Säfonyas and At'ebatä Dengel. 1721-30.
Bäkafa, King of Kings, has given all the lands situated at Q'ähari to *Bäjerond*² Säfonyas and At'ebatä Dengel saying: "Let him provide an income for Mass at the

¹ አባቶች cf. القساوسة and القضاة

² Ms. Bäjerwärwänd.

Church of Maryam". The witnesses are [the church] scholars. So that this [ordinance] may not be violated, *Abunä Marqos* [and] *Ech'ügé Zäwäldä Maryam* have pronounced an anathema.

(B. L. Or. 636, 5r.)

59. P.L.a.14. Bäkafa to Yädug Abuqir. 1721-30.

When Emperor Bäkafa was allocating [*rim* land] at Däre [to the people who serve at] the Church of Däfäch'a Kidanä Mehrät, [he granted] 90 *meder*, [which is of a tax] of honey and chicken, and the 9 *meder* of a *ch'eqa*, saying: "Let Dug Abuqir celebrate Mass [at the church of Kidanä Mehrät]". So that this [ordinance] may not be violated, *Abunä Krestodolu*¹ and *Ech'ügé Zäwäldä Maryam* have pronounced an anathema. The witnesses are *Liqé Keflé*, *Azazh Tüdesyos* [and] the *däbtära(s)*.

(B. L. Or. 481, 4r.)

60. P.L.a.15. Iyasu II and Mentewab to Arekälädes. 1730-55

Behold, we King of Kings Iyasu, whose reign name is Berhan Sägäd, and our mother Queen Wälättä Giyorgis, named Berhän Mogüsa, have given² to Arkälédes, whom we appointed *däjazmach*, the land of Qaroda, which is at present in his hands because it is his *rest* and his child's *rest*. [We gave the land to him] so that he may celebrate Mass at the three churches which he built. They are the sanctuaries of Sellasé, Yohannes the Baptist and Kidanä Mehrät. So that neither a king nor a governor take away [this land] from his hands, the honourable Bishop of Ethiopia, *Abunä Krestodolu*,³ and the senior *mämher* of Däbrä Libanos, *Ech'üge Täklä Häymanot*, and other priests have pronounced an anathema by our command, saying: "Let whoever violates [the ordinance of] that land from the hands of Arekälédes and his child's hands be anathematized by the power of Peter and Paul."

¹ Ms. Krestos Dowälu.

² I.e., renewed.

³ Ms. Krestädolu. It also appears as Awdokeyos.

(B.L. Or. 511, 2v.)

61. P.L.a.16. Iyasu II and Mentewab to Suré. 1730-55.

The [*gult*] land which Emperor Iyasu [II] and Emperess Mentewab gave to *Re'esä Däber* Suré saying: "May you celebrate Mass at [the Church of] Qwesqwam" is [a tax of] 4 *shämma*. A [land tax] of 1 *shämma* [is] officer Feréya's; a land [tax] of 1 *shämma* [is] officer yemano's; a land [tax] of 1 *shämma* [is] officer Enqo's; a land [tax] of 1 *shämma* [is] officer Bäsoré's. [They gave this *gult* land] so that it may be a saviour of their bodies and souls. And [may God] renew his Kingdom. Let whoever violates this [ordinance] be anathematized by the power of Peter and Paul.

(B. L. Or. 776, 268r.)

62a. P.L.a.17a. Iyasu II to Eshäté. 1730-55.

Emperor Iyasu [II has given] the land of *Ras* Gwendé, the one which [is at] Gub Gäbr'él, to [*Asälaḥi*] Eshäté. He said: "Let him live off the land celebrating Mass [at the Church of] As'as'amé *Qeddus* Mika'él". He [also] said: "Let him give 3 *ch'an* and *däl* of wheat and 30 [bars of] salt for the Eucharist". He also gave the 150 *meder* of *Abéto* Ersé's *meder* [to the Church of As'as'amé *Qeddus* Mika'él] saying: "Let it be for Eucharist". So that this [ordinance] may not be violated, the *Abun* and the *Ech'ägé* have pronounced an anathema".

(B. L. Or. 778, 1v.)

62b. P.L.a.17b. Iyasu II and Mentewab to Eshäté. 1730-55.

The [*gult*] lands which he (*Asälaḥi* Eshäté) held and with which he provides [an income for the celebration of] Mass at [the Church of] Ledäta [are] 10 *meder* at Gäräma, the *rest* land of Awdäkéwos, [and] 20 *meder* at Dalko, the *rest* land of Kwerfad. Emperor Iyasu [II] and [the] Empress have given [these lands as *gult*] to *Asälaḥi* Eshäté. And Awdäkéwos, the *Sega Mülküñña*, [is] ordered [to have it written down]. The *wä[n]bär*

[is] *Azazh Bahrey* [and this *gult* land was granted] during the period of office of *Mām[h]er Zāmika'él* as *aläqa*.

(B. L. Or. 777, 4v.)

62c. P.L.a.17c. Iyasu II to Eshäté.

1730-55.

[The *gult* lands], which Emperor Iyasu [II] gave to *Asälañi Eshäté*, during the period of office of *Mām[h]er Zāmika'él* as *aläqa*, saying: "May you celebrate Mass at the Church of *Ledäta*" are 20 *meder* at *Abagé*, the *rest* land of *Gäbrä Wäld*, and 20 *meder* at *Dalko*, the *rest* land of *Kurfad*. *Awdäkéwos*, the *Sega Mülkäñña*, is ordered [to have it written down and] the *wämbär* [is] *Azazh Bahrey*.

(B. L. Or. 604, 2v.)

63. P.L.a.18. Iyasu II to Wälanya.

c. 1755.

In the Era of *Luqas*, during the reign of Emperor Iyasu [II and] during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä Berhanat Wäldä Rufa'él*, *Liqä Mäzämran Tälañinos*, *Qäñ Géta Wäldä Sellasé*, *Gera Géta Abisa*, *Bét T'übaqi Gétas Newayä Mika'él* and *Wäldä Gäbr'él*, *Mäch'ünés Wäldä Dengel* [and] *Nabuté*, *Emes Abba Anqäs'é*, *Meherka*, *Asratä Qal* [and] *Abba Wäldä Iyäsus* [and] *Eqa T'übaqi Yägzér Käbet*, [regarding the land] at *Wäyna*, which was in the hands of *Hajji Gädo*, the Muslim, and *Liqä Mäzämran Demét'eros*, which the Emperor [Iyasu II] gave to *Däjazmach Arkälédes*, he [the Emperor] has said: "Let *Wäyzäro Wälanya*, his (*Däjazmach Arkälédes*) daughter earn her livelihood by celebrating Mass at [the Church of] *Däbrä Berhan*".

(B. L. Or. 777, 2v.)

64. P.L.a.19. Mentewab to Wasé, Wäldä Gérgis, Tersit, Sawel, etc.

c. 1755.

Empress Mentewab has given the *bota(s)*, which she bought from *Bäjerond Wäldä Dawit* for 15 *wäqét*, to the *däbtära(s)* of [the Church of] *Iyäsus*. [She gave the *bota*] to *S'erag Masäre Wäldä Gérgis*, *Tersit*, *Sawel*, *Abba Germa*, *Zäta'os*, *Gebrä Dengel*, *Abba meka*, *Abba Nüch'o*, *Märqoréwos*, *Abba Hes'enu*, *Adäru*, *Iyosé*, *Nabuté*, *Kenfä*

Gäbr'él [and] Azazh Wäldä Gäbr'él; [and] 1 *bota* to Zäwäldu and to the son of Abba Wäldä Gérgis. Let whoever violates this [ordinance] be anathematized by the power of Peter and Paul.

(B.L. Or. 776, 269r.)

65a. P.L.a.20a. Iyo'as I and Mentewab to Eshäté. c. 1760.

In the Era of Yohannes, during the reign of Emperor Iyo'as [and at the time] when Empress Mentewab was Queen, the Emperor and the Empress, having taken away the 60 *meder* from the *Gasha Jagré* at Säraba, the land of [E]mäbét Qärné, which was [formerly] allotted to the *Gasha Jagré*, have given to Ba[la]mbäras Eshäté saying: "Let him celebrate Mass [at the Church of] Däbrä Berhan. [The person] who is ordered [to have this ordinance written down is] *Shaläqa* Awdäkéwos, the *Sega Mülkäñña*. The Wä[n]bär [is] *Liqé* Yesyeyas (sic) [and this grant of *gult* land was made] during the tenure of office of *Mül'akä Berhünat* Keflä Maryam [and] *Liqä Müzümran* Tälafinos.

(B.L. Or. 777, 4v)

65b. P.L.a.20b. Mentewab to Eshäté. c.1760.

Empress [Mentewab] has given the 8 *meder* at Säraba, which used to belong to *Emäbét* Qerné, to *Balambäras* Eshäté, saying: "May you celebrate Mass at [the Church of] Däbrä Berhan". The person who is ordered to have this ordinance written down is *Shaläqa* Awdäkéwos,¹ the *Sega Mülkäñña* and the *wämbär* is *Liqé* Isayeyas.

(B. L. Or. 604, 2v.)

66. P.L.a.21. Iyo'as I and Mentewab to Häylu. Dated 1765.

In the Era of Matéwos, after Emperor Iyo'as had reigned for 10 years (1765), Emperor [Iyo'as] and Empress [Mentewab], regarding their Qwesqwam land of the 20 *meder* [measured] by *as'é gümääd* at Dalko, have given to *Liqé* Häylu saying: "Let him Mass

¹ Ms. Awdäkiyos.

at [the Church of] Qwesqwam. And I have [authorized the land to be] exempt from the payment of tax". But this [grant of *gult* land] was made during the period of office of *Mäl'akä S'ähäy* Téwodros as *aläqa* and during the tenure of office of *Liqä T'äbäbt* Bätru [and] during the period[s] of office of *Däjazmach* Gwäshu as *basha*, *Zägérgis* as *gänta*, [A]mha as *ch'eqa* [and] *Näbiyu* as *mesläné*. And [the person] who was ordered to have this [ordinance] written down is *Ras Wäldä Le'ul*. But, the land used to belong to *Liqä Mäkwä* Marqos. The witnesses [are] *Liqé* Bätré, *Liqé* Isayeyas, *Liqé* Gäbru, *Liqé* Fasilo, *Azazh* Yonatan, *Azazh* Abisälom, *Azazh* Senqo [and] *Abisäsom*.

(B. L. Or. 776, 270v.)

67. P.L.a.22. Mentewab to Awdäkéwos.

c. 1765.

In the Era of Matéwos, during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä S'ähäy* Téwodros [and] *Liqä T'äbäbt* Bätru, Emperor Bäkäfa had given [the] 5 *gasha* at Menaqos to *Wäyzäro* Wälanya. [Later on,] *Wäyzäro* Wälanya gave [this land] to Empress Mentewab [and] Empress Mentewab has given to *Shaläqa* Awdäkéwos. She has said: "Let him celebrate Mass at [the Church of] Qwesqwam". Let whoever violates this [ordinance] be anathematized by the power of Peter and Paul.

(B. L. Or. 776, 269r.)

68. P.L.a.23. Mentewab to Kenfu

c. 1765.

During the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä S'ähäy* Téwodros [and] *Liqä T'äbäbt* Bätru, Empress Mentewab has given Damotoch, the *gult* land of *Wäyzäro* Amättä S'eyon, his (*Agafari* Kenfu) mother's [*gult* land and] Reb, [the *gult* land] where a tenth of it was subtracted, to *Agafari* Kenfu saying: "Let him celebrate Mass at [the Church of] Qwesqwam". So that this [ordinance] may not be violated, an anathema was pronounced by the power of Peter and Paul. Let him be anathematized. Also the 40 *meder* at Wämbärgé

(B. L. Or. 776, 271r.)

69. P.L.a.24. Iyo'as to Wärfu.

1755-69.

In the Era of Yohannes, during the reign of Emperor Iyo'as, during the period[s] of office of *Ras* Mika'él as *Ras*, *Käntiba* Käbté as *Käntiba* [and] *Liqé* Fasilo as Inspector, Emperor Iyo'as has given 13 *meder* at Anch'a [and] 3 *meder* at Jewana to *Abéto* Wärfu saying: "With this *rest* of yours, may you celebrate Mass [at the Church of] *Ledäta*". He is entitled to celebrate Mass during the tenure of office of *Aläqa* P'änt'éléwon. Let whoever violätes this [ordinance] be anathematized.

(B. L. Or. 604, 137r.)

70. P.L.a.25. Iyo'as I and Mentewab to Eshäté.

1755-69.

Behold, We, King of Kings Iyo'as and Queen Wälättä Giyorgis (Mentewab) have given [the following lands] to *Däjazmach* Eshäté of the region of Agow - Därom, Demama, Sorit, Enägusa, Dihen, Mängäha, Chajja, Kunzäna, Alech, Chajja Muhu, Mul, Zobt, Nas'egari, Gomär, Qolla, the region of Jawoch, Sahsa, Enbabära, Dägäha, Jomära, Deku, Baritoch, Därb [and also] Gudära and Barzafla, a tenth of the villages which he kept for himself after dividing the share of the children of *Däjazmach* Wärräñña. [They granted these *gult* lands to him], so that he may celebrate Mass at the *Tabot* of Qwesqwam, which is [the Church of] Däbrä S'ähay. The reason for our grant [of these *gult* lands] is to compensate for his campaign against the Galla, [where] he killed [the people] of Jedda and Ch'eléha and also for having made all the Galla submit [to the State].

(B. L. Or. 776, 269r.)

71. P.L.a.26. Täklä Haymanot II to Muktar and Nuru.

Dated 1773.

After Emperor Täklä Haymanot had reigned for 4 years (1773), *Däjazmach* Adgäh, having come by the order [of the the Emperor] said: "[The Emperor] has given 3 *meder* and a *qerana* to Muktar [and] Nuru". [He also said:] "Let them serve at [the Church of] *Ledäta*". The land [is at] Aräbya [and] the *rest* holder [is] Korjaté. The Witnesses [are] the *däbtära* [and] the recipient [of the message is] *Aläqa* Zämika'él.

(B. L. Or. 604, 136r.)

72. P.L.a.27. Täklä Haymanot II to Mesrach.

Dated 1774.

In the Era of Marqos, after Emperor Täklä Haymanot had reigned for 5 years (1774), [the Emperor] has given 22 *mede[r]* with the *bota* to *Wäyzäro* Mesrach saying: "May you celebrate Mass [at the Church of] Ba'[ä]ta". The holders of the *rest* [land are] Wasé and Adäru. And also there are the witnesses: *Liqé* Bätaré, *Azazh* Abé[sé]lom, *Liqé*¹ Kokäbä Leda Haylu, *Liqé*² Haylu, ?her brother, *Liqé* Gäbru, *Aläqa* Wasé, Berch'eqo Yohannes, Ledäta Kenfu [and] *Gänta* Kenfu.

(B. L. Or. 777, 246v.)

73. P.L.a.28. Täklä Häymanot II to Säädäf and Däfäch'.

Dated 1776.

In the Era of Matéwos, after Emperor Täklä Häymanot had reigned for 7 years and 3 months (1776), at a time when *Abéto* Säädäf was wounded at Emäkina, [Emperor Täklä Häymanot], having taken the income of a tax of 20 *shämma* [at] Egul Mälza from the *Azazh* of the Wähni, he granted it to *Abéto* Säädäf and *Abéto* Däfäch' as a price of blood saying: "May you benefit [from the *gult* land] after you have established the *Tabot* (the Church) of Mädhané Aläm [and also] may you celebrate Mass in it". He [also] said: "May you celebrate Mass [at the Church of] Bä'ata, too." He said: "But, let the *mezker* for this *Tabot* [of Mädhané Aläm] be [the Church of] Bä'ata." [This *gult* land was granted] during the period of office of *Ras* Ayadar as *ras* and Iyo'akes as *azazh*. The *Abun* and the *Ech'ägé* have said: "Let whoever erases this [ordinance] be anathematized by the power of Peter and Paul."

(B. L. Or. 777, 284r.)

¹ Ms. Léqé.² Ms. Liqi.

74. P.L.a.29. Täklä Häymanot II to Wäldä Abib.

1769-77.

In the Era of Luqas, Emperor Täklä Häymanot has given the 2 *ch'an* tax of Empress Elarya's land at Saled to *Mämher* Wäldä Abib saying: "Let him celebrate Mass at [the Church of] *Qeddus Gäbr'él*". So that this [ordinance] may not be violated, *Abunä* Yosab and *Ech'ügé* Täsfu have pronounced an anathema saying: "Let him be anathematized as Arius was". And during the period[s] of office of *Aläqa* Darihun as *aläqa* [and] *Qenwat* as *käntiba*, [*Mämher* Wäldä Abib] made *Ch'ämäni* Berkä Dawit to pronounce an oath in the presence of [church scholars] saying: "Emperor, I will never reach in front of you [again]".¹ And May [God] weaken the enemies of the Emperor, prolong his life and save his soul. [May you say the prayer of] our Father in Heaven.

(B. L. Or. 636, 2r.)

75. P.L.a.30. Täklä Haymanot II to Abésélom.

1769-77.

Lahén 11 [? *gasha*], Dämsash, Lammo, Derni, Agdamiya Amba and Ras Keflo - the tax of these [lands] is 35 *wäqét*. During the reign of Emperor Täklä Haymanot [II and] during [the period of office of] *Ras* Goshu as *ras*, *Ras* Ayadar as *däjazmach*, *Azmach* Wäldä Dawit, the *mezker*, [the Emperor] has granted [these lands] to *Abéto* Abésélom as *gult*. [The person] who had this [ordinance] written down by the order [of the Emperor] is *Azmach* Wäldä Dawit. *Abéto* Abésélom's, the son of Adarqay Gäbru. The writer [of this charter] is *Qäñ Géta* Wasé.

(B. L. Or. 777, 12r.)

76. P.L.a.31. Täklä Haymanot II to Ayadar.

1769-77.

[The land] which Emperor Täklä Haymanot gave to *Ras* Ayadar saying, "build [a church of] *Abunä* Täklä Haymanot", is [a total of] 125 *gasha* at Zaqäna, Gubäna, Qwaher, Wazagé, Gamet', Mayana [and] Qwaro [and] the 85 [*as'é*] *gämäd* [land] is at

¹ It simply means that *Ch'ämäni* Berkä Dawit will never try to take away the land from *Mämher* Wäldä Abib.

Fogära. Whoever violates this [ordinance] is anathematized by the words of the *Ech'ägé* [and] the *Abun*.

(B. L. Or. 745, 225r.)

77. P.L.a.32. Täklä Haymanot II to T'erpadir. 1769-77.

In the Era of Matéwos, During the period of office of *Aläqa* Darihun as *aläqa*, [the land,] which Emperor Täklä Haymanot granted to *Abéto* T'erpadir as *gult*, for having done commendable work [is] at Kaka Enäbsén, a Yonakendis *qämäs*.¹ [He said]: "Let him provide [an income for the celebration of] Mass [and] let the judge be Kur'attä Re'esu." The tax [is 1] *wäqét* for the carrier of the Kur'attä Re'esu during a campaign. Let whoever violates this [ordinance] be anathematized.

(B. L. Or. 636, 2r.)

78. P.L.a.33. Sälomon II to Sahlü. Dated 1777/78.

On 7270 Amättä Aläm (1777/78), in the Era of Marqos, at the time when *Mäl'akä Gänät* Mäs'ehét was the *Aläqa*, Emperor Sälomon has given these three villages - Dablo, Adärjehan [and] Sarbakwesa, to *Wäyzäro* Sahlü. [The Emperor], having waived the payment of tax for [these] three villages, said to *Wäyzäro* Sahlü, the daughter of Shech'an Mammo: "Give a tax of 3 *ch'an* [of cereal] to [the Church of] *Qeddus Mika'él*".

(B. L. Or. 778, 9r.)

79. P.L.a.34. Sälomon II to Sahlü. 14th December 1778.

On 7270 Amättä Aläm, during the Era of Luqas² in [the month of] Tahsas, on the 7th day, Monday (14th December 1778), during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä S'ähay* Rob'am [and] *Liqä T'äbäbt* Gäbrä Sellus, Emperor Sälomon has given 21 *gasha* [at] Amäno [and] the 1 *azmach gasha* at Färfär, [a total of] 22 *gasha* to *Wäyzäro* Sahlü

¹ I.e., formerly received by Yonakendis.

² The Era of Luqas occurred in 7271 Amättä Mehrät.

saying: "May you celebrate Mass at [the Church of] Qwesqwam". [He gave this *gasha* lands] during the period of office of of *Ras* Haylu as *ras*. So that this [ordinance] may not be erased, an anathema was pronounced.

(B.L. Or. 776, 272r.)

80. P.L.a.35. Sälomon II to Wälättä Giyorgis. 1778/79.

In the Era of Luqas (1778/79), during the reign of Emperor Sälomon, during the period of office of *Ras* Haylu as *ras*, during the period of office of *Mäl'akä Berhanat* Abésélom as *alüqa*, [the Emperor] has said [regarding the grant of land at] Bägäla to *Wäyzäro* Wälättä Giyorgis, the daughter of Dägafi Mammo: "Let her celebrate Mass [at the Church of] Däbrä Berhan". The *Abun* and the *Ech'ägé* have pronounced an anathema. And it is 171 years that it was in her hands.

(B. L. Or. 777, 285v.)

81. P.L.a.36. Sälomon II to Berengo Adäy. 1778/79.

In the Era of Luqas (1778/79), during the reign of Emperor Sälomon, during [the period of office of] *Ras* Haylu as *ras*, during [the tenure of office of] *Mäl'akä Berhanat* Abésélom, *Liqä Mäzämran* Kenfu, *Re'esä Däbr Dängola*, *Qän Géta* Wäldä Rufa'él, *Gera Géta* Asrat, *Bét T'übaqi Géta(s)* Arro Wäldä Mika'él [and] Wäldä Sem'on, *Mäch'äné(s)* Héla [and] Täklü, the Emperor and the *Ras*, having taken land [tax of] 3 *ch'*[an] and 2 *ma*[dega measured] in *bert* [at] Jähjah (sic) from *Däjazmach* Haylu, the son of *Däjazmach* Eshäté, have given to Berengo Adäy; [This *gult* land] used to belong to *Abéto* Basleyos, her father.

(B. L. Or. 777, 12v.)

82. P.L.a.37. Täklä Haymanot II to Mäb'a.

Later renewed by Sälomon II to Mäb'a. 1778/79.

In the Era of Luqas (1778/79), during the reign of Emperor Sälomon [II], during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä Berhanat* Abésélom, *Ras* Haylu, *Liqä Mäzämran* Kenfu,

Re'esä Däber Dängola, *Qäñ Géta* Wäldä Rufa'él, *Gera Géta* Asrat, *Bét T'äbaqi Géta(s)* Wäldä Mika'él and Wäldä Sem'on, *Müch'äné(s)* Héla and Täklu, *Em(s) Abba* Täklä Ab, Niqodimos, Mäqabis and Zäfüru and *T'eran T'äbaqi* Yost'os. Formerly, [the land] of 10 *ch'an* of tax [at] Fänja, which Emperor Täklä Haymanot [II] gave to *Asälafi* Mäb'a, [the *gult* land] of his father, *Azazh* Lebso's, [has] now been restored to him by Emperor Sälomon saying: "May you celebrate Mass at [the Church of] Däbrä Berhan". And [this renewal of the *gult* land] is written [in the books of] eight Judges. So that this [ordinance] may not be violated, an anathema was pronounced by the words of *Ech'ügé* Täsfu [and] *Abunä* Yosab. Let whoever erases this *däbdabé* be anathematized by the power of Peter and Paul.

(B. L. Or. 777, 285v.)

83. P.L.a.38. Sälomon II to Täckaro.

1778/79.

Sh'aläqa Täckaro's.

In the Era of Luqas (1778/79), during the reign of Emperor Sälomon [and] during the tenure of *Ras* Haylu, *Mäl'akä Berhanat* Abésélom, *Liqä Müzämran* Kenfu, *Re'esa Däber* Dängola, *Qäñ Géta* Wäldä Rufa'él, *Gera Géta* Asrat, *Bét T'äbaqi*, *Géta(s)* Wäldä Mika'él and Wäldä Sem'on, *Müch'äné(s)* Héla and Täklu, *Em(s)* Täklä Ab, Niqodimos, Zäfüru [and] Mäqabis [and] *T'eran T'äbaqi* Yost'os, Emperor Sälomon gave [a tax of] 6 *ch'an* [of cereal] of La[e]kä Maryam's [and tax of] 3 *ch'an* [of cereal] of Masbäl Keflä Marya[m]'s at Wallaj,¹ a tax of 3 *ch'an* [of cereal] at Gändäwa and a tax of 1 *ch'an* [of cereal] of Jagrä Mamma's at Dablo to *Shaläqa* Täckaro saying: "Let him celebrate Mass at [the Church of] Däbrä Berhan". All the *däbtära* know of this [grant of *gult* land]. And later on, when the family of *Shaläqa* Täckaro stopped celebrating Mass [at the Church of Däbrä Berhan], Emperor Yohannes [III] and the *däbtära* have given Jagrä Mamma's 30 *meder* to Empress Mänän. [The payment for]

¹ I.e., Walwaj.

the holder of the office of the *ch'eqa* is 1 [measure of] honey. They also gave Dägwash Agné's *rim* [to Empress Mänän].

(B. L.Or. 777, 285r.)

84. P.L.a.39. Sälomon II to Rob'am.

1777-79.

During the reign of Emperor Sälomon, [at the time] when Haylu was the *ras*, Emperor Sälomon and *Ras* Haylu [have given] the lands of Mäs'is'e Lebso, Däbrägan [and] Dälgi and also the gate tax of Dälgi, to *Mäl'akä S'ühay* Rob'am saying: "Let him provide an income for the celebration of Mass at [the Church of] As'as'amé *Qeddus* Mika'él". And the witnesses to this [ordinance] are *Liqé* Haylu, *Liqé* Iyo'akes, *Liqé* Gäbru, *Liqé* Haylu, the younger one, *Azazh* Ya'eqob, *Azazh* Haylu, *Azazh* Zekru, *Azazh* Wädaju [and] *Mäl'akä Gänät* Täklä Haymanot.

(B. L.Or. 778, 6v.)

85. P.L.a.40. Sälomon II to Awkendeyos.

1777-79.

Emperor Sälomon [II and] *Ras* Haylu have given 1 *gasha* [of land] of Akalé's, the rebel, [who is] son of Selén, to *Sha[lä]qa* Awkendeyos saying: "Let him celebrate Mass [at the Church of] Hamärä Noh". *Shaläqa* Natna'él is [to act as] the guarantor [ensuring] that he gives a *ch'[an* of cereal and] 10 bars [of salt] for the celebration of Mass. Let whoever erases [the record of] this [ordinance] be anathematized by the 300 [Just Fathers] and 12 Apostles.

(B. L. Or. 508, 286v.)

86. P.L.a.41. Sälomon II to Wälättä Dengel's children.

1777-79.

Emperor Sälomon [II], by waiving the tax of Wänba, the *gult* land of Wäyzäro Wälättä Dengel, [he gave it] to her children saying: "By giving 10 *ladan* [of] raisins to [the Church of] As'as'amé *Qeddus* Mika'él, let them celebrate Mass [there]". [This grant of *gult* land happened] during the period of office of *Mäl'akä Gänät* Mäs'ehét as *aläqa* [and] the *azazh* of the Wähni was *Azazh* Gäbreyä. [The person] who is ordered [by the

Emperor to have this grant of *gult* land written down is] *Azazh* Bā'edä Maryam [and the person] who [made sure that the tax] erased [is] *Shaläqa* Wäldä Mika'él. So that this [ordinance] may not be violated, an anathema was pronounced by the words of the *Abun* and the *Ech'ägé*.

(B. L. Or. 778, 9r.)

87. P.L.a.42. Täklä Giyorgis to Hezqeyas.

Dated 1780/81.

During the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis, 7273 after the creation of the world, in the Era of Matéwos (1780/81), formerly, Emperor Täklä Haymanot [II], and now Emperor Täklä Giyorgis has given 12 *gasha* of land near Gwedan as *gult* to *Bäjerond* Hezqeyas saying: "Let him earn his livelihood by celebrating Mass at [the Church of] Däbrä Berhan". The *ch'eqa* is Filp'os. So that this [ordinance] may not be erased up to the coming [of Christ], an anathema was pronounced by the words of the *Abun* and the *Ech'ägé*.

(B. L. Or. 777, 283v.)

88. P.L.a.43 Täklä Giyorgis to Wäldä Gäbr'él.

c. 1780.

The *gult* [land] which Emperor Täklä Giyorgis gave to *Däjazmach* Wäldä Gäbr'él saying: "This is the price of my soul [and] may you celebrate Mass [at the Church of] ?Rufa'él" [are] Zogga, Mäsqänech [and] Bafäräwanat. [Emperor Täklä Giyorgis gave these lands to *Däjä Azmach* Wäldä Gäbr'él] because he welcomed him at a time of a Victorious War [and] helped him heal [his wounds]. Also, he gave Gunna [to him] for crowning him King after he became prisoner of the Galla for nine years. Also, he gave Daber, Gänta, Dänqor [and] Andabet [to him] for separating the Christians from the Galla after the *Abun* and the *Ech'ägé* pronounced an anathema. [Moreover,] he gave Qäñ Dogämo and Gera Dogämo, his father Yohannes' villages, [to him] for weakening his enemies. [He gave these *gult* lands to him] saying: "Let [it] be land of blood". And whoever violates this [ordinance], the *Abun* [and] the *Ech'ägé* said: "Let him be anathematized".

(B. L. Or. 784, 209v.)

89. P.L.a.44. Iyasu III and Yätämäñu to Qenwat.

Dated 1784.

In the Era of Matéwos, in [the month of] T'eqmet (1784), during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä S'ähay* Rob'am [and] *Liqä T'äbübt* Gäbrä Sellus, Emperor Iyasu [III and] Empress Yätämäñu have given Barwara, where Akchu and Näch'o are the *ch'eqa*, to *Käntiba* Qenwat saying: "May he celebrate Mass [at the Church of] Qwesqwam". Whoever violates this [ordinance] is anathematized.

(B.L. Or. 776, 10v.)

90. P.L.a.45. Iyasu III to Qäs'äla.

17th July 1785.

In the Era of Matéwos, on Sunday 12th Hämlé (17th July 1785), during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä S'ähay* Sahlu [and] *Liqä T'äbübet* Gäbrä Selus, Emperor Iyasu has given the land of *Agafari* Sät'äñ, which extends from Ferafur to Ṭänaho, [situated in] the Qwäla and the Dägga, to Qäs'äla saying: "May you celebrate Mass at [the Church of] Qwesqwam". Whoever violates this [ordinance] is anathematized by [the clergy of] the church, *Abunä* Yos[ab and] *Ech'ägé* Täsfu. May they help him.

(B. L. Or. 511, 2r.)

91. P.L.a.46. Iyasu III and Yätämäñu to Webit's children.

14th October 1785.

In the Era of Marqos, on Friday 6th T'eqmet (14th October 1785), during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä S'ähay* Sahlu and *Liqä T'äbübt* Gäbrä Selus, Emperor Iyasu and Empress Yätämäñu have said: "Let the children of *Wäyzäro* Webit, the daughter of Emperor Bükafa, [take the *gult* lands of] Däga Nora, Dowarohegé, Wäjraba, Agwaba *Qeddus* Giyorgis, Fäfäri, Kozäräba in the Qwäla, Gaza, Däbäw [and] Dängura [and that] may they celebrate Mass [at the Church of] Qwesqwam. [The person] who is ordered [to have this ordinance written down is] *Liqä Mäkwäs* Abbo Barya. The *Abun* and the *Ech'ägé* have pronounced an anathema [and the person] who wrote [this charter is] As'efä Kiros.

(B. L. Or. 776, 10r.)

92. P.L.a.47. Täklä Giyorgis to Gäläbu.

10th May 1787.

In the year of 7279, during [the Era of] Luqas in [the month of] Genbot, on the 4th day, Thursday (10th May 1787), during the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis, he has returned the land to *Wäyzäro* Gäläbu, the mother of *Ras* Ali, and half of it to her relatives, the *wäyzäro(s)*, which was taken away from them [due to differences] in faith. [The Emperor] has said: "Let them earn their livelihood building [a Church of] *Qeddus* Gälawdéwo[s] and celebrating Mass [in it]". The *Abun* and the *Ech'ügé* have [said]: "Let whoever violates this ordinance] be anathematized by the power of Peter and Paul". [The person who is] ordered [to have this ordinance written down is] *Bala[m]bäras* Adgo Aychéw.

(B. L. Or. 659, 100r.)

93. P.L.a.48. Iyasu III to Wädaj.

1784-88.

During the reign of Emperor Iyasu, the son of Emperor Bäkafa, Emperor Iyasu gave Keflä Maryam's land [at] Wägäzgé, which [is] 20 *meder* [and] 10 *bota*, which *Wäyzäro* Wälättä Gäbr'él bought for 30 *wäqét*, to Wedaj, the son of *Wäyzäro* Terngo and *Abéto* Engeda, saying: "May you celebrate Mass at [the Church of] Däbrä Berhan. So that this [ordinance] may not be violated, an anathema was pronounced by the words of *Abunä* Yosab [and] *Ech'ügé* Täsfu. The witnesses for this [are] *Aläqa* Gäbru, *Liqä Mäzämran* Kenfu, *Re'esä Däbr* Dängola, *Qäñ Géta* Wäldä Rufa'él, *Gera Géta* Wäldä Sem'on, *Bét T'äbaqi Géta(s)* *Abéto* Héla and *Abéto* Märägdu, the *Em(s)* *Qés* Wäldä Mika'él and Mär'awi, *Qés* Asrat and Wärqé [and] *T'eran T'äbaqi* Yäwst'os and the rest of the 150 *däbtära* [also] know [this].

(B. L. Or. 777, 13r.)

94. P.L.a.49. Iyasu III to Lafto Käbté and Tebläs'e.

1784-88.

During the reign of Emperor Iyasu [III], during the period of office of *Ras* Ali as *ras* and during the tenure of office of *Aläqa* Gäbru and *Liqä Mäzämran* Kenfu, Empror Iyasu [III] has given the tax of 8 *ch'an* at Jayra [and] 2 *ch'a[an]* at Ch'ehra S'eyon which a *ras* takes, to Lafto Käbté, his children [and] his wife, *Wäyzäro* Tebläs'e, saying: "Let them earn their livelihood by giving 20 bars [of salt] to [the Church of] Sellasé for incense". [The person] who is ordered to have it written down is *Käntiba* Ayadar. So that this [ordinance] may not be violated, *Ech'ägé* Täsfu [and] *Abunä* Yosab have pronounced an anathema.

(B. L. Or. 777, 10r.)

95. P.L.a.50. Hezqeyas to Saleh.

1790/91.

In [the Era of] Luqas (1790/91), during the reign of Emperor Hezqeyas [and] during the tenure of office of *Mül'akü Berhanat* Feré [and other Church officers, such as] *Liqä Mäzämran* Kenfu, *Re'esä Däbr* Meherka, *Qäñ Géta* Mär'awi, *Gera Géta* Haylu, *Bét T'äbaqi Géta(s)* Yäséllasé Barya [and] *Abba* Kidanu, *Em(s) Abba* Enequ [and] *Abba* S'ädalu [and] *Arro Wäldä* Mika'él [and] *Abba* Zäwäldu, *T'eran T'äbaqi Gera Géta* Asrat, *Mäch'äné(s)* Gäbrä Kidan [and] *Habänü Wäld*, Emperor Hezqeyas, [regarding] the meadow of the Zälan [at] Angäräb, which is located below Därräbo, said: "Let *Basha* Saleh give 150 *wäqét* of incense for the celebration of Mass at [the Church of] Däbrä Berhan". [The person] who is ordered to have this [ordinance] written down is *Asälafä* Gäbru [and] the witness to this [is] *Liqé* Gäbru.

(B.L. Or. 777, 6v.)

96a. P.L.a.51a. Hezqeyas to Qunch'a.

1789-94.

In the Era of Luqas, during the period of office of *Aläqa* Wädajä as *aläqa* [and] *Särs'u* as archdeacon, Emperor Hezqeyas [has given] the *bota* at Dandé to *Asälafä* Quncha saying: "Let him celebrate Mass [at the Church of] *Mädhané Aläm* with 3 *madega* of

wheat [and] 3 [bars of] salt". [The person] who had this [ordinance] written down is *Asälafi Gäbru*.

(B. L. Or. 518, 16r.)

96b. P.L.a.51b. Hezqeyas to Qunch'a. 1789-94.

During the reign of Emperor Hezqeyas, during the period of office of *Aläqa* Habtu as *aläqa* [and] *Gäbrä Maryam* as archdeacon, [the Emperor] has given *Dändé's bota* to *Asälafi* Qunch'a saying: "May you celebrate Mass [at the Church of] *Mädhané Aläm* with 3 *madega* of wheat [and] 5 [bars of] salt".

(B. L. Or. 644, 4r.)

97. P.L.a.52. Hezqeyas to Däylä. 1791/92.

In the Era of Yohannes (1791/92), during the reign of Emperor Hezqeyas, during the tenure of *Mäl'akä Berhanat Feré*, *Liqä Müzümran Kenfu*, *Re'esä Däbr Mehreka*, *Qäñ Géta Mär'awi*, *Gera Géta Haylu*, *Bét T'übaqi Geta(s) Abba Kidanu* [and] *Yäsellasé Barya*, [regarding the grant of] *Gälawdéwos Mäsk*¹ to *Azazh Daylä*, [the Emperor said: "Let him earn his livelihood celebrating Mass [at the Church of] *Däbrä Berhan*". In order that this [ordinance] may not be violated, an anathema is pronounced by the mouth of the *Abun* and the *Ech'ügé*. And the people who heard the anathema are all the people who were at the Emperor's house during the time when Empress *Mäsäläch* was crowned.

(B. L. Or. 777, 13v.)

98. P.L.a.53. Bä'edä Maryam II to Ayahunäñ Gäbru. 1795.

In the Era of Yohannes (1795), during the tenure of office of *Aläqa* Hirut, Emperor *Bä'edä Maryam* has given the land with the *bota* at Gorgora Kwami, which Tenkreker Mammo used to hold to Ayahunäñ Gäbru saying: "Let him give a yearly *qeba nug* [to

¹ I.e., a meadow.

the Church of] Däbrä Berhan". [The person] who was ordered to have [this ordinance] written down is Kokäbä Ledda Haylu.

(B. L. Or. 777, 7r.)

99. P.L.a.54. Bā'edä Maryam II to Wäldä Gäbr'él.

1795.

As the Galla rebelled 12 years after they returned to their homes, [these are the] *gult* land[s], which Emperor B'ä'edä Maryam gave to *Ras* Wäldä Le'ul, as a price of *lul*¹ : from [the region of] Wadla [are] Gancheré, Dororya [and] Sälälkula [and] from Shodäho [is] Anfarach [and] from Mäqét [is] Tihwan [and] from Begemeder [is] Denser, [which used to be] a *ras qämläs*² [and] from [E]nezägdem [is] Ardisan [and] Fenjerjer, which [is] the land of the 7 *ch'äwa(s)* , [and] Aqelé S'eyon, which [is] the land of the four Abäza. He said: "Let the judicial administration of Enzä Gedem be carried out by the *Liqä Mäs'ané*". He has also granted him the tax of the residential area of La'ekä Maryam. [He has also granted] a tax of 8 *ch'an* [of cereal] from Dämbeya, where Goshu, the son of Berkä Dawit, is the *chämäné*; a tax of 8 *ch'an* [of cereal] from Awdeba, [a tax of] 7 *ch'an* [of cereal at] Feqri and a tax of 5 *ch'a[n]* and 8 *ma[dga]* of cereal] from [the region] where Andeyä and *Liqé* Hirut are the *gänta*; a tax of 5 *ch'a[n]* and 8 *ma[dega]* of cereal] from [the region] where Wäsegé [and] Fasil Wäru are the *gäntä*; a tax of 4 *ch'a[n]* and 2 *ma[dega]* cereal] from Qondoloch, where Täsfa Iyäsus is the *gänta* and a tax of 5 *ch'an* [of cereal] from Sarbakusa. Regarding the regions from Zenjäro Gädäl up to Qura Gädol [and] Barsägäd, which his father established and from Yebba up to T'eruq, which he formerly governed for 27 years, he has said: "And now let him celebrate Mass [at the Church of] Däbrä Berhan". He also gave the Bitwädäd's Galla *qämläs*³ at Därra [to him] saying: "May you commission [the Church of] *Abunä Éwost'atéwos*". So that this [ordinance] may not be violated, the *Abun* and the *Ech'ägé* have pronounced an anathema.

¹ Lit., "pearl", i.e., as a reward for his distinctive service to the nation.

² I.e., an income for the *Ras*.

³ I.e., an income formerly given to the *Bitwädäd* by the Galla.

(B. L. Or. 784, 209v.)

100. P.L.a.55. Yonas to Berch'eqo.

Later Renewed by Täklä Giyorgis.

1797.

Wäyzäro Berch'eqo's

In the Era of Marqos (1797), during the reign of Yonas, [at the time] that Hirut was the *Aläqa* [and] during [the tenure of office] of *Liqä Mäzämran* Kenfu, *Re'esä Däbr Gwalé*, *Qäñ Géta* Mär'awi, *Gera Géta* Haylu, *Bét T'äbaqi Géta(s)* Yäsellasé Barya [and] *Abba* Kidanu, *Ems Abba* S'ädälu [and] *Abba* Aminadäb [and] *Qés* Wäldä Mika'él [and] Habtu, *Müch'üné(s)* Gäbrä Kidan [and] Wärqe [and] *T'eran T'äbaqi Abba* Enqwe, Emperor Yonas has given [the land] of Tenkulengé to his mother, *Wäyzäro* Berch'eqo saying: "Let her provide an income of 8 *ch'an* and 8 *madega* [of cereal] for the celebration of Mass at [the Church of] Däbrä Berhan". From this [payment to the church] 5 *madega* [of cereal is to be given] to Ch'aqm Wäldu. So that this [ordinance] may not be violated, the *Abun* and the *Ech'ägé* have pronounced an anathema. The witnesses [to this] are all the church scholars. She has given [the responsibility of] fulfilling the *sämon* to *Abba* Wäsän. Emperor Täklä Giyorgis has also said: "Let it be renewed for her" and he has cancelled [the payment of] 8 *Wäqét* gold, which the *Gänta(s)* give to the *Käntiba*. So that the *Gänta(s)* may not interfere [with this arrangement], her guarantor [is] Lämbe Andyé. So that this [ordinance] may not be violated, the *Abun* and the *Ech'ägé* have pronounced an anathema. [the person] who is ordered to have this [ordinance] written down is *Liqé* Haylu, the light-skinned one.

(B.L. Or. 777, 8v.- 9r.)

101. P.L.a.56. Yonas to La'ekä Maryam.

1797.

In the year of Marqos, during the reign of Emperor Yonas [and] during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä Berhanat* Yäselassé Barya, *Liqä Mäzämran* Kenfu, *Re'esä Däbr*

Gwalé, *Qāñ Géta* Mär'awi, *Gera Géta* Haylu, *Bét T'äbaqi Géta(s)* *Qés* Wäldä Mika'él [and] *Gera Géta* Arku, *Mäch'äné(s)* Gäbrä Kidan [and] Wärqé, *Em(s)* Mämheré S'ädalü [and] *Abba* Aminadab and Haylu and *Abba* Hélla and *T'eran T'äbaqi Abba* Enequ, Emperor Yonas has given *S'ühafä Te'ezaz's* [income of] a tax of 9 *ch'an* [of cereal] at Ch'ello to *Afä Negus* La'ekä Maryam saying: "May you celebrate Mass at [the Church of] Däbrä Berhan". From what the Emperor gave to him, *Afä Negus* La'ekä Maryam gave 7 *cha'n* [of cereal] to [the Church of] Ch'ello S'eyon and 1 *ch'an* [of cereal] to [the Church of Däbrä Berhan] Sellasé and he kept 2 *ch'an* [of cereal] for himself. [The people who are] ordered [to have this ordinance written down are] *Afä Negus* Yaréd,¹ *Belattén Géta* ² Meqmat'u, *Däjazmach* Dorräso and Wäldä Sellasé, the beater of the drum. So that this [ordinance] may not be violated, the *Abun* and the *Ech'ügé* have pronounced an anathema.

(B. L. Or. 777, 14v.)

102. P.L.a.57. Täklä Giyorgis to T'äbürgé Goshu.

1779-1800.

In the Era of Marqos, during the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis, during the time that *Aläqa* Gäbrä Kidan was the *Aläqa*, [the Emperor] has said [regarding] the tax of Zämälokot's 4 *ch'an* of barley at Wäborgé: "Let T'äbürgé Goshu and his relatives earn their livelihood by giving 2 *ch'an* of wheat for the Eucharist at [the Church of] Kidanä Mehrät".

(B. L. Or. 638, 247v.)

103. P.L.a.58. Täklä Giyorgis to Le'ul Sämra.

1779-1800.

During the period of office of *Aläqa* Sählu as *aläqa*, Emperor Täklä Giyorgis has given [the *gult* land of] *Wäyzäro* Amättä Iyäsus, the barren, at käbtäjera, to *Wäyzäro* Le'ul Sämra saying: "May you celebrate Mass [at the church of] As'as'amé *Qeddus* Mika'él". And [the person] who is ordered is *Azmach* Wäldä Dawit.

¹ Ms. Yä'aréd.

² Ms. Blatta Gäti.

(B. L. Or. 778, 6r.)

104. P.L.a.59. Egwalä S'eyon to Saleh.

1801-18.

In the Era of Matéwos, during the the reign of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon, during the tenure of office of *Käntiba* Aymothuno [and] during the period of office of *Chämäni* Sahlu as *chämäni*, [the Emperor] has given the sling maker's [income of] a tax of 1 *ch'an* [of cereal] at Därségé, which is [the payment] for the *Azazh* of a hall, to *Hajji* Saleh saying: "Let him celebrate Mass [at the Church of] Däbrä Berhan". The third [of the produce of the land is] for the person who is entitled to [receive] a third: [i.e.,] for *Käbté* and *Wekät*; two-thirds [is] for *Hajji* Saleh. [The person] who is ordered [to have] this [ordinance written down] is *Käntiba* Aymothuno.

(B. L. Or. 777, 16r.)

105. P.L.a.60. Egwalä S'eyon to Mädsaleh.

1801-18.

In the Era of Luqas, Emperor Egwalä S'eyon has given *Ras* Abedyé's land of a sewer at Azäzo, which is situated in the region where Arägay is the *ch'eqa*, which [erasure] used to hold the *bota* and the *meder*, to his son, Mädsaleh, saying: "May he earn his livelihood sewing at [the church of] Däbrä Berhan". So that [this ordinance] may not be violated, *Ech'ägé* Wäldä Yona has pronounced an anathema. [The person] who is ordered to have this [ordinance] written down is *Abba* Wäsän. Also *Liqé* Haylu had it written down as the Emperor said: "Let it be written down in the presence of *Liqé* Haylu". Also, [the Emperor] gave the *bota* and *meder* of an *aläqa* and *ch'äwa* at a village which was previously held by *Ras* Abedyé.

(B. L. Or. 777, 16r.)

106. P.L.a.61. Iyo'as II to Maru.

1819/20.

In the Era of Yohannes (1819/20), during the reign of Emperor Iyo'as [II], during the period of office of *Ras* Gugsä as *bitwädätl*, during the period of office of *Aläqa* Gäbrä Heywät as *aläqa*, the lands, whose people migrated and its churches ruined [and] where

he killed deer, which [Emperor Iyo'as II] gave to *Däjazmach* Maru [are as follows:] Zuabakni S'eyon, Kér Qwesqam, *Abunä* Arägawi, Gurach *Qeddus* Giyorgis, Debkan S'eyon, Afaräbida *Qeddus* Giyorgis, Asabda Kidanä Mehrät [and] Abchekli S'eyon. He said: "Let anyone who killed a person take refuge like [the Monasteries of] Zägé, Qwärat'a [and] Waldeba". The *Ech'ägé* and the [clergy of the] churches have pronounced an anathema. [the Emperor] has said: "[Holding the region of] these 10 churches [as *gult*], let him celebrate Mass at [the Church of] Ledäta. [The person] who is ordered [to have this ordinance written down] is Kidanä Maryam.

(B.L.Or. 604, 17r.)

107. P.L.a.62. Iyo'as II to Haylä Maryam.

1818-21.

During the reign of Emperor Iyo'as [II], firstly, when *Däjazmach* Haylä Maryam, campaigned in Wello [at] Wech'alé [his] people perished and later, when he campaigned in Walqayet, he was victorious [but his] people died [and the people who] died there were 1,700. But because of this, *Ras* Gugsal¹ talked with the Emperor [and] gave [to him a *gult* land] saying: "Let the *amesteya* of 120 *wäqét* at Yäjju [and] Lasta be for your son's *gult* [and/or] for your daughter's dowry". And he [also] said: "May you celebrate Mass at [the Monastery of] Waldeba Kidanä Mehrät". And this was placed under an anathema by the words of the *Ech'ägé* [and the clergy] of the churches.

(B. L. Or. 481, 209v.)

108. P.L.a.63. Gigar to Täsfa Mika'él.

1821-30.

During the Era of Yohannes, during the reign of Emperor Gigar, during the tenure of office of *Aläqa* Gwalé, [and] *Liqä Mäzämran* Fänta, Emperor Gigar has given the partridge trapper's land, which is in Walwaj, and [also] the land of *Azmach* Keflé to *Aläqa* Täsfa Mika'él saying: "Let him celebrate Mass at [the Church of] Däbrä Berhan".

¹ Ms. Gwegwesa.

The witnesses to this are *Liqé* Goshu [and] the *däbtära(s)*. [The person] who is ordered to have this [ordinance] written down is Walwa Gäbru.

(B.L. Or. 777, 17r.)

109. P.L.a.64. Sahlä Dengel to Webé.

1832-55.

In praise of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Behold - the King of Kings Sahlä Dengel has ordered and given [an income from *gult* lands] to the clergy of [the Church of] Däräsgé [Maryam]. And the roster of lands which *Düjazmach* Webé received for the celebration of Mass [is as follows]: Janamora, [the *gult* land] of the *Mäch'äné*, Ant'ära and Gilla, [land] of the *Wünbär*, which was bought for 7 *wäqét*. [And the lands,] which *Ras* Gäbré received as *gult* during the reigns of Emperor Iyasu [III], Emperor Täklä Giyorgis [and] Emperor Hezqeyas [are] Aqät'a, Bät'ezaz and [the the lands of] Bekwerabenja, Abba, Gwäjamochegé and Fent'ert'er at Fot'äna and [the land of] *Jagré* which [belonged to] *Wäyzäro* Gemja, [which he later inherited] by a birthright [after] he provided a commemoration service [for her]. [The lands] of *Jagré* [are] Loma, Agäwge, Gwätman, Säbrän, Selindiwana, Alamné, Abbanoch, Gibla, Säräp'ar [and] Qebayba. So that these *gult*, which he gave to him may not be violated, the Emperor and the *Ech'ägé* came out [and] the chair of the *Abun* [and] the Cross were taken out [along with the clergy of] 44 churches [and] three monasteries [and they] pronounced an anathema. They said: "Let the monastery be like the house[s] of an *abun* and an *ech'ägé* and like the [rest] of the monasteries, [where it could be a haven for repentant], murderers and hamstringers". And this is written during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akü Berhanat* Gäbru [and] *Liqä Mäzümran* Mesgad. [The person] who is ordered to have this [ordinance] written down is *Agafari* Säyfu. The witnesses are all the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 481, 3v.)

II. State Allocation of *Rim* Lands

The grant of *gult* land received by the churches, as already mentioned, was divided among the clergy for their services. However, there are cases to prove the direct intervention of the sovereigns in the reallocation of *rim* lands. Although explanations are not given for the direct intervention of the State in *rim* lands, already allocated or bought, it is easy to assume that the individual in question had fallen out of favour with the sovereigns. Indeed, this constant monitoring of *rim* land ownership by the State is to be seen as a signal that the ultimate power over the allocation of all church lands rested with the State. Ownership of *rim* lands in any church brought not only a constant income of material benefits, but also a special status in the region where the church was situated.

Emperor Täklä Haymanot II gave (P.L.b.1.) *Blatta Arägay's rim* land of the Church of Qwer'atä Re'esu to *Käntiba Qenewat*. This *rim* land originally belonged to *Adära Mika'él* and was bought by *Blatta Arägay* for 5 *wäqét* during the reign of Emperor Iyo'as I.¹ At the time of the transaction of this *rim* land, the person who was nominated by *Blatta Arägay* to serve in the Church of Qwer'atä Re'esu was *Abba Fessu*.² Incidentally, the document which records the sale of this *rim* land to the *Blatta* was concluded with words: "May anyone who erases this *Mäs'ehafä T'omar* ³due to jealousy be anathematized by the power of Peter and Paul".⁴

Moreover, Emperor Täklä Giyorgis is also associated with an allocation of bought *rim* land. In 1794, the *rim* land of the Church of Qwesqwam, which *Balambaras Rämha* bought for 4 *wäqét* from *Abba Gäbrä Mäsqäl*, was given (P.L.b.6.) to *Abéto Biyadgo* by the same sovereign.⁵ The *Balambaras* bought the land in the presence of several witnesses and *As'efä Kiro*s, the writer of the document, goes on to state that the

¹ B. L. Or. 636, 4r.

² B. L. Or. 636, 4r.

³ Lit., "book of letter".

⁴ B. L. Or. 636, 4r.

⁵ B. L. Or. 776, 9v.

guarantor for this sale of land was *Aläqa* Biyadgo. As most of the nobility were well versed in the teachings of the Church, some of them took positions in the hierarchy and it is possible that the person mentioned as both the guarantor and the receiver of the *rim* land might be the same person. *Balambaras* Rämha seems to have had reached the peak of his political career soon after Emperor Täklä Giyorgis was first overthrown in 1784. According to a charter (P.L.b.2) Emperor Iyasu III gave Aqbä Mika'él's *rim* land of the Church of Hamärä Noh to *Liqé* Gäbru, the son of *Liqé* Täklä Haymanot, in 1784, and the person who was ordered to have this gift of land written down was mentioned as *Balambaras* Rämha. It is also significant to note that the same individual received land of the Felasha in an unspecified region by the same sovereign.¹ *Balambaras* Rämha is also mentioned in one of the charters (P.L.b.8.) of Emperor Demét'eros (1799-1801) as having lost his *rim* land of the Church of As'as'amé Mika'él during the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis. Emperor Demét'eros renewed his predecessor's gift of *Balambaras* Rämha's *rim* to *Abéto* Adäru. The same sovereign, during his two brief reigns, also transferred ownership of *rim* lands of the Church of As'as'amé Mika'él in two instances to other individuals. He gave (P.L.b.7.) *Abba* Wäldä Kiro's *rim* to *Gera Géta* Wäldä Mika'él. Moreover, he gave (P.L.b.9.) S'imma As'emé's *rim* lands at Bälläsa, Wät'ämeb and Yesaha to *Aläqa* Wäldä Gäbr'él.

Emperor Egwalä S'eyon gave *Abba* Baslyos' *rim* land, which was apparently held by Wäldä Éwost'atéwos, to the Church of Rufa'él.² The Emperor, besides ordering *Liqé* Haylu to make sure that it was given to the church, also spoke regarding this issue to *Liqé* S'amru and *Azazh* Kenfu.³ The usual procedure for sovereigns was to deprive an individual of his *rim* land and bestow it to another. But this incident of returning *rim* land to the church itself is the only one in the Collections. There are also four documents which record the transfer of *rim* land ownership from one individual to another by the same sovereign. The 2 *meder* and a *qerana* land of *Abba* Tälmid, which

¹ B. L. Or. 776, 9v.

² B. L. Or. 799, 88v.

³ B. L. Or. 799, 88v.

he bought from *Abba* Wakka was given (P.L.b.10.) to *Liqé* Haylu by Emperor Egwalä S'eyon. Here, it is important to note that *Abba* Tälmid bought a fraction of full *rim* land of the Church of Rufa'él on two occasions from both *Abba* Wakka and from his children.¹ But the sale of a *rim* land referred to here is that of a half of one-third, which *Abba* Tälmid bought from *Däbtäira* Wakka, as he was then known before he became an *abba*, for 1 *wäqét* and 4 *drim* of gold during the reign of Emperor Iyasu III.² There is also a document which states that *Qüñ Géta* Enqwä Sellasé and *Nägadras* Ashäber managed to get back the *rim* land of *Abba* Tälmid during the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel.³ It is difficult to establish which *rim* land they managed to secure because *Abba* Tälmid also bought several fractions of a full *rim* land and *bota(s)* of the same Church from other individuals during the reign of Emperors Täklä Haymanot II, Täklä Giyorgis and Hezqeyas.⁴

Emperor Egwalä S'eyon and the *däbtäira(s)* of the Church of As'as'amé Mika'él gave (P.L.b.13) *Eqa Bét Wäldä Gäbr'él's rim* at Yesaha to *Mäl'akä Gänüt Gäbrä* Sellasé. *Abba* As'efo's 40 *meder* at Wäyna was also given (P.L.b.11.) to a certain Yemam by the same sovereign with the permission of the *däbtäira(s)* of the Church of *Däbrä Berhan* Sellasé. The importance of this *rim* land gift, its size being the main factor, is clearly reflected by the inclusion of an anathema to deter any violation of it and the sovereign's choice to give the order regarding the gift of this land directly to the *Afä Negus* Kidanä Maryam, who was judging from the title he bore, the then senior legal officer of the land. The same document, however, fails to include any name of

¹ Ta'eka sold a third of her father's *rim* to *Abba* Tälmid for 3 *wäqét* during the reign of Emperor Täklä Haymanot II and the guarantor was her father Wakka.; see B. L. Or. 799, 3v. and 217v. *Abba* Tälmid also bought a *bota* at Däräbo from the children of Wakka during the reign of Emperor Hezqeyas; see B. L. Or. B. L. Or. 799, 3v.

² B. L. Or. 799, 3r.

³ B. L. Or. 799, 26v.

⁴ *Abba* Tälmid and *Mämhre* Isayeyas bought *Zäyü Marqos' rim* for 8 *wäqét* during the reign of Emperor Täklä Haymanot and the guarantor was Wakka; see B. L. Or. 799, 88v. According to another document, however, *Mämhre* Isayeyas sold a portion of his share of the *rim*, which is stated as 2 *meder*, to *Abba* Tälmid for 1 *wäqét* and a *drim* during the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis; see B. L. Or. 799, 1v. He also bought 1 *qerana* land for 1 *wäqét* and 10 bars of salt from S'äga Zä'ab during the reign of Emperor Hezqeyas; see B. L. Or. 799, 3v. He also bought 2 *meder* and a *bota* in Gondar from Zäwäldu and Engedit, the children of Koké, for 3 *wäqét* and 1 *drim* during the reign of Emperor Hezqeyas; see B. L. Or. 799, 219v.

the dignitary who pronounced the anathema. Moreover, Emperor Egwalä S'eyon and the officers of the Church of Däbrä S'ähay Qwesqwam gave (P.L.b.12.) *Nägadras* As'equs' *rim* to *Shaläqa* Märägdu. The same sovereign is also associated with a *rim* land renewal. One record shows that he renewed Selé Käbté's *rim* to Haylu, a *rim* which was initially given to him by Emperor Tüklä Giyorgis, and the *rim* land, which he bought from a certain Wäldyé.¹

Emperor Gigar gave (P.L.b.15.) *Liqä Mäzämran* Neway's *rim* of the Church of As'as'amé Mika'él to Mäl'akä S'ähay Senä Dengel and the person who was ordered to have this gift of *rim* land written down is *Afä Negus* Kidanä Maryam. *Mäl'akä S'ähay* Senä Dengel was the *aläqa* of the Church of Däbrä S'ähay Qwesqwam during the reign of the same sovereign and he was thus given a *rim* land of another church.²

Emperor Sahlä Dengel transferred the ownership of *rim* lands of three churches in Gondar to five individuals. The same sovereign gave the *rim* lands of the Church of As'as'amé Mika'él to three individuals. While Gonej Kidanä Wäld's *rim* land at Dämbeya and Bälläsa was given (P.L.b.19) to *Aläqa* Wäldä Arägawi, *Mäl'akä S'ähay* Robam's *rim* land at Qebra'él and Tebiya was given (P.L.b.18.) to S'egé, the son of *Mäl'akä Gänät* Abimélék. The same sovereign also gave (P.L.b.17.) the unsold *rim* land of *Liqä Mäzämran* Wäldä Kiro at Dämbeya and Bälläsa to *Aläqa* Gäbrä Maryam. Furthermore, Emperor Sahlä Dengel and the *däbtära(s)* of the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé gave (P.L.b.16.) the full *rim* of *Mämhré* Haylä Krestos to Nudit Haylu. The same *rim* land was, however, given to *Aläqa* Kidanu by Emperor Egwalä S'eyon and the *däbtära(s)* of the same church.³ Nudit Haylu also received an additional 4 *meder* in the region where a certain Gäbrä Maryam was the *ch'eqa* from the Emperor Sahlä Dengel but the document fails to specify whether it was given to her as *rim* or *rest* land.⁴ Finally, *Liqä Kahnat* Wäldä Iyäsus' *rim* of the Church of Rufa'él was given

¹ B. L. Or. 745, 9r.

² B. L. Or. 776, 1r., 2v., 3v., etc.

³ B. L. Or. 777, 16v.

⁴ B. L. Or. 636, 3v.

(P.L.b.20.) by Emperor Sahlä Dengel to *Däbtära* S'äbaht with the permission of the officers and the *däbtära(s)* of the church.

110. P.L.b.1. Täklä Haymanot II to Qenwat. 1769-77.

Emperor Täklä Haymanot [II] has given *Blatta* Arägay's *rim* to *Käntiba* Qenwat.

(B. L.Or. 636, 4r.)

111. P.L.b.2. Iyasu III to Gabru. Dated 1784.

In the Era of Matéwos, in T'eqmet, after Emperor Iyasu [III] has reigned for nine months (1784), Emperor Iyasu [III] has given the *rim* of Aqbä Mika'él to *Liqé* Gäbru, the son of *Liqé* Täklä Haymanot. And [the person] who is ordered to have it written down is *Balambaras* Rämha. The witnesses [are] all the *däbtära*. [This *rim* is given to *Liqé* Gäbru] during the period of office of *Mäl'akä Sälam* Lulä Qal as *alüqa*.

(B. L. Or. 508, 287r.)

112. P.L.b.3. Iyasu III to Kenfu. 1784-88.

During the tenure of office of *Mäl'aka S'ühay* Rob'am [and] *Liqä* [T'äbäbt] Gäbrä Sellus, Emperor Iyasu [III] has given 1 *gasha* of Kesos Abuga [and] 1 *gasha* of Waldé, their Känisa's *rim* at Saqba, to *Agafari* Kenfu saying: "Let him celebrate Mass at [the Church of] Qwesqwam". [The person] who is ordered [to have it written down] is *Asälaft* Yabida.

(B. L. Or. 776, 3v.)

113. C.L.b.4. Hezqeyas to Fänja Käfté. 1791/92.

In the Era of Yohannes (1791/92), during [the tenure of office of] *Aläqa* Feré [and] *Liqä Mäzämran* Kenfu, Emperor Hezqeyas has given the *rim* of *Wäyzäro* Qedesté,¹

¹ According to a charter of Emperor Täklä Haymanot II, the *rim* of Dogwash Agné was bought by *Wäyzäro* Qedesté but the same sovereign authorized that the *rim* should be given to *Abba* Wäldä Gäbr'él, her nephew, who was the son of *Abéto* Yona'él; see B. L. Or. 777, 1r. The same *rim* land was also given to *Aftä Negus* Wasé by Emperor Täklä Giyorgis in the presence of 150 *däbtära* of the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé so that it may be given as "A dowry for his daughter [or] a *rest* for his son"; see B. L. Or. 777, 5v. The same manuscript also preserves a document which records the grant of the same to the *Aftä Negus* by the same sovereign who is reported to have said: "May it become [a *rim*] for your grandchild"; see B. L. Or. 777, 5r.

[which initially used to be] the *rim* of Dogwash Agné¹ to Fänja Käbté. The person who came to tell [the officers of the church] is *Asälaḥi* Gäbru. The 12 officers [of the church] and the *däbtära(s)* know [of this gift of *rim*]. And *Aḥä Negus* La'ekä Maryam [also] know [of this grant of *rim* land to Fänja Käbté].

(B. L. Or. 777, 7r.)

114. P.L.b.5. Täklä Giyorgis to Täklä Maryam. 14th September 1794.

In the Era of Luqas, during the period of office of *Mäl'akä S'ähay* Yaréd as *aläqa* [and] during the tenure of office of *Liqä T'übäbt* As'equ, on 6th Mäskäräm, Sunday (14th September 1794), Emperor Täklä Giyorgis has given Neway's *rim* to² Täklä Maryam. And the *däbtära* have [also] given to him.

(B. L. Or. 776, 1v.)

115. P.L.b.6. Täklä Giyorgis to Biyadgo. 4th November 1794.

In the Era of Luqas, during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä S'ähay* Absadi on 27th T'eḳmet, on Tuesday (4th November 1794), Emperor Täklä Giyorgis has [given] the *rim*, which *Balambaras* Rämha bought from *Abba* Gäbrä Mäsqäl, to *Abéto* Biyadgo [and] has said: "Let him earn his livelihood by celebrating Mass [at the Church of Däbrä S'ähay Qwesqwam]".

(B. L. Or. 776, 1r.)

116. P.L.b.7. Demét'ros to Wäldä Mika'él. 1800/01.

During the Era of Matéwos (1800/01), during the time that *Mäl'akä Gänät* Wäldä Yohannes was the *Aläqa*, Emperor Demét'eros has given the *rim* of *Abba* Wäldä Kiros to *Gera Géta* Wäldä Mika'él. [The person] who is ordered [to have this gift of *rim* land written down] is *Agafari* Habtu. The witnesses [to this are] *Liqé* Bas'älotu,

¹ His *rim* land at Dablo was sold to *Abéto* Éraqelis, the son of Keber Mälké for 10 *wäqét* during the reign of Emperor Bäkaḥ; see B. L. Or. 777, 4v.

² ḡ instead of ለ.

Abéto Adäru, Afä Negus Wänd Ared, Liqä Mäzämran Nargé, Gäbru, Abba Lantebyä, As'equ, Abba Amonéwos [and] Abba Mahs'äntu.

(B. L. Or. 778, 9r.)

117. P.L.b.8. Demét'eros to Adäru.

1799-1801.

During the tenure of office of *Aläqa* Fequr, the 4 *meder* at Qebra'él and 6 *meder* at Jewargé, the *rim* of *Liqä Mäzämran Wäldä Täklé*, which Emperor Täklä Giyorgis gave to *Balambäras Rämha*, Emperor Dimét'eros has [now] given to *Abéto Adäru*. The witnesses to this [are] *Liqä Mäzämran Wäldä Kiros, Gera Géta Zäfät'ari, Qäñ Géta Mänker, Gera Géta Wäldä Mika'él, Gera Géta Lantbeyä, Nargé, Ch'emet [and] As'equ.*

(B. L. Or. 778, 4r.)

118. P.L.b.9. Demét'eros to Wälda Gabr'él.

1799-1801.

During [the period of office of] *Mal'akä Gänät* Warqu, Emperor Demét'eros has given S'imma As'emé's *rim* at Ballasa, Wat'ämb and Yesaha, to *Aläqa Wäldä Gabr'él*. The witnesses [are] *Liqä Mäzämran Wäldä Kiros, Qäñ Géta Mänker, Gera Géta Zäfät'ari, Lantebyä, Nargé, Gäbru* and all the *Däbtära*. *Abéto Adäru, Abéto Täklä Sellasé, Iyu'él, Kenfé, Ch'emt, Abba Mahs'äntu, At'equ* and *Mäm[he]r Asér* [are also witnesses to this].

(B. L. Or. 778, 5r.)

119. P.L.b.10. Egwalä S'eyon to Hirut.

1801-18.

During the Era of Matewos, During the period of office of *Aläqa Wäldä Gäbr'él* as *aläqa*, Emperor Egwalä S'eyon has given the 2 *meder* and a *qerana* of *Abba Tälmid* at Mäkan, which was bought from *Abba Wakka*, to *Liqé Hirut*. [The person] who is ordered to have this written down is *Ligaba Kübte*.

(B. L. Or. 799, 1r.)

120. P.L.b.11. Egwalä S'eyon to Yemam.

1801-18.

Yemam's.

In the Era of Matéwos, during the reign of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon [and] during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä Berhanat Gwalé* [and] *Liqä Mäzämran Gäbrä Kidan*, Emperor Egwalä S'eyon has given the 40 *meder* of *Abba As'efo* at Wäyna to Yemam saying: "May he celebrate Mass [at the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé]". And [the person] who is ordered [is] *Afä Negus Kidanä Maryam*. The *däbtära* have also given the permission. So that this [ordinance] may not be violated, an anathema was pronounced.

(B. L. Or. 777, 281r.)

121. P.L.b.12. Egwalä S'eyon to Maragdu.

1801-18.

In the Era of Yohannes, during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä S'ähay Wäldä Maryam* and *Liqä T'äbübt Haylu*, Emperor Egwalä S'eyon has given the *rim* of *Nägadras As'equ* to *Shaläqa Märägdü*. And [the officers and *däbtära(s)* of] the church have given [the *rim* to him] after they consulted [with each other].

(B. L. Or. 776, 3r.)

122. P.L.b.13. Egwalä S'eyon and the *Däbtäras* to Gäbrä Sellasé.

1801-18.

In the Era of Yohannes, during the reign of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon, Emperor Egwalä S'eyon and the *däbtära(s)* [of the Church of As'as'amé Mika'él] have given the *rim* of *Eqa Bét Wäldä Gäbr'él* at Yesaha to *Mäl'akä Gänät Gäbrä Sellasé*. [The original hoder of this] full [*rim*] was *Gasha Jagré Anoréwo[s]*. [The person] who is ordered [to have this ordinance written down] is Abél. The witnesses [are] *Liqé Lantebyä, Aläqa Wäldä Gabr'él, Qäñ Géta Mänker, Gera Géta Käbté, Gera Géta Gäbru, Gera Géta As'equ, Bét T'äbaqi Gäbru, Em Abba Sahlu, Mem[h]ré Mahs'äntu, Däbtära Ch'emnt, Hes'enu, Abba Wäldä Rufa'él*.

(B. L. Or. 778, 4r.)

123. P.L.b.14. Iyo'as II to Zäwgu and Käbté.

1818.

In the Era of Marqos (1818), during the reign of Emperor Iyo'as [II], [the Emperor] has given 6 *meder* and a *qerana* to *Liqä Kahnat* Zäwgu from the hitherto unallotted *rim* of 9 *meder* and *qerana rim* of [the church of] Rufa'él saying: "Let him celebrate mass [at the church]. He [also] gave 3 *meder* to Käbté, the blind. [The person] who is ordered is *Afä Negus* Kidanä Maryam. And the witnesses [are] *Märi Géta* Täklü, *Qäñ Géta* As'equ, *Däbtära* Wäldä Sellasé, *Em(s) Gera Géta* Särs'u and *Mämheré* Wäldä Arägawi, the *Mäch'äné* Wäldä Täklä and the rest are the *däbtära*. So that this [ordinance] may not be violated, *Ech'ügé* Wäldä Yona has pronounced an anathema.

(B.L. Or. 799, 6r)

124. P.L.b.15. Gigar to Senä Dengel.

1821-30.

During the Era of Matewos, During the reign of Emperor Gigar, during the time that *Mäl'akä Gänät* Abémélék, Emperor Gigar has given the *rim* of *Liqä Mäzämran* Neway to *Mäl'akä S'ühay* Senä Dengel. [The person] who is ordered [to have it written down is] *Afä Negus* Kidanä Maryam. The witnesses are *Liqä Mäzämran* Webé, *Aläqa* Wäldä Gäbr'él, *Aläqa* Gäbrä Maryam, *Qäñ Géta* S'éwa Dengel, *Bét T'äbaqi Géta* Aychäh, the *Mäch'äné* Engda Wärg, *Mämher* Hirut and [also] the rest of the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 778, 9v.)

125. P.L.b.16. Sahlä Dengel to Nudit Haylu.

1832-55.

In the Era of Matéwos, during the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel, [and] during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä Berhanat* As'equ [and] *Liqä Mäzämran* Wäldä Yaréd, Emperor Sahlä Dengel and the *däbtära* have given *Mämheré* Haylä Krestos' full *rim* of 10 *meder* [and] 3 *bota* at Sufanqära and the 10 *meder* [and] 4 *bota* at Wawa to Nudit Haylu. The witnesses are the scholars [of the church].

(B. L. Or. 777, 281r.)

126. P.L.b.17. Sahlä Dengel to Gäbrä Maryam. 1832-55.

In the Era of Luqas, during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä Gänät* Taklu, Emperor Sahlä Dengel has given the unsold *rim* of *Liqä Mäzämran* Wäldä Kiro at Dünbeya and Bälläsa to *Aläqa* Gäbrä Maryam. The witnesses [are] *Aläqa* Wäldä Maryam, *Qän Géta* S'egé, *Gera Géta* Engeda Wärq, *Bét T'äbaqi Géta* Gäbrä Arägawi, the *Mäch'äné* Gäbrä Giyorgis, the *Eqa bét Mämheré* Asbé and the rest of the *däbtära*. [The person] who [is] ordered [to have this gift of *rim* land written down is] *Lej* Gäbrä Maryam.

(B. L. Or. 778, 4v.)

127. P.L.b.18. Sahlä Dengel to S'egé. 1832-55.

During the Era of Yohannes, During the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel [and] during during the period of office of *Mäl'akä Gänät* Abémélék as *aläqa*, Emperor Sahlä Dengel has given *Mäl'akä S'ähay* Rob[']am's *rim* of 3 *me* [der and] 1 *bota* at Qebra'él and Tebiya to S'egé, the son of *Mäl'akä Gänät* Abémélék. [The person] who came by the order [of the Emperor] is Zéna, the tax collector. The witnesses are *Liqä Mäzämran* Gäbrä Kidan, *Aläqa* Gäbrä Maryam, *Qän Géta* Engeda Wärq, *Bét T'äbaqi* Haylu, the *Mäch'äné* Gäbrä Arägawi, *Em Mämre* Kidanä Maryam, the *Eqa Bét Däbtära* Käbtu [and] the *däbtära* [of the church].

(B. L. Or. 778, 4r.)

128. P.L.b.19. Sahlä Dengel to Wäldä Arägawi. 1832-55.

During the Era of Yohannes, during the time that *Mäl'akä Gänät* Taklu was the *Aläqa*, Emperor Sahlä Dengel has given the *rim* of Gonej Kidanä Wäld at Dä[n]beya and also at Bälläsa, to *Aläqa* Wäldä Arägawi saying: "Let him serve [at the church] by [benefiting from] it." The witnesses [to this are] *Aläqa* Wäldä Gigar, *Aläqa* Gäbrä Maryam, *Liqä Mäzämran* Gäbrä Kidan, *Bét T'äbaqi Géta* Gäbrä Arägawi [and] all the *däbtära* [of the church. [The person] who is ordered [to have this ordinance written down is] *Abba* Wäldä Iyasus.

(B. L. Or. 778, 4v.)

129. P.L.b.20. Sahlä Dengel to S'äbaht.

1832-55.

Emperor Sahlä Dengel, during his reign, has given *Liqä Kahnat Wäldä Iyäsus' rim* to *Däbtära* S'äbaht saying: "He deserves it". The officers and the *däbtära(s)* [of the church] have given their permission [to hold the *rim*].

(B. L. Or. 799, 2v.)

III. Church Allocation of *Rim* Lands

Churches not only allocated income from their *gult* lands, but, at times, also gave lands they received from the State to individuals, including sovereigns and other members of the royal family. As already mentioned above, lists of *rim*-holders in churches vary and are preserved in several manuscripts. The lists of the *däbtära* are divided into two groups - the choristers of the right and the left and they took services in the churches on monthly bases through out the year. However, lists of the clergy, who on the other hand celebrated Mass, are not available in any of the manuscripts in the Collections. In general, church lands are divided into two main parts - *sämon* land, land of the clerics, and *däbtära* land, land of the choristers. Thus, it is not surprising to see notes which record gift of *rim* lands to individuals either by the *Aläqa* and his fellow officers or by the *däbtära(s)* alone. However, there are times when these two groups gave land to individuals on a joint basis. But, there is no record whatsoever to prove that the *aläqa* and his fellow officers gave land to individuals independently of the *däbtära(s)*. The documents recording such gifts of *rim* lands appear in a brief form and are clearly a reflection of the way the churches reallocated *rims* after the original allocation. Unfortunately, instead of providing up-to-date periodic lists, this process involved the insertion of names by erasing that of the original holder of the *rim* and it is, thus difficult at times to identify the obliterated names without considerable reliance on numerous other charters and notes.

The *däbtära(s)* of the Churches of *Abunä Täklä Haymanot* and *Däbrä Berhan Sellasé* gave *rim* lands to five individuals purely in their own rights without even mentioning the *aläqa* and other higher office holders of the church. The charter (P.L.c.4.) written during the reign of Emperor Iyo'as II states that 8 *meder* of pasture land at *Kemarwa* was given to *Azazh Téwodros* by the *däbtära(s)* of the Church of *Abunä Täklä Haymanot*. This land, it seems, was divided from a larger land and was given to *Azazh Téwodros*, but the writer suddenly stops without completing what he intended to say. As this manuscript belonged to the Church of *Abunä Täklä Haymanot*,

the writer might, perhaps, have intended to state that *Azazh Téwodros* was required to provide an income for the celebration of Mass at the same church. The *däbtära(s)* of the Church of *Däbrä Berhan Sellasé* also gave *rim* lands to four other individuals. First of all, they gave a much larger pieces of *rim* lands belonging to Tegrans, which measured 63 *meder*, and also 30 *meder* of Muslims' land at *Wäyna* to Empress *Mänän*.¹ The *däbtära(s)* also returned (P.L.c..2.) *Däjazmach Därsö's rim* land at *Wäyna*, which was held by *Wäyzäro Wälanya*, to his son. *Däjazmach Därsö's* son is not mentioned by name and the reason for giving him the land is stated: "He deserves it". Although it is difficult to speculate how the *rim* ended up in the hands of *Wäyzäro Wälanya* in the first place, it is interesting to note the independent judgement and decision of the *däbtära(s)* in the allocation of *rim* lands. Nevertheless, there is a situation whereby an intermediary was involved in helping a certain person to obtain a *rim* land. According to a document (P.L.c.7.) *Ato Yemam* served as an intermediary in securing a *rim* land for *Kitéwon Hama* from the *däbtära(s)*. Moreover, the *däbtära(s)* gave (P.L.c.9.) half of a *rim* land to *Mämré Wäldä Täklé* as an addition to the other half at *Achärgé*, which he received from *Qäñ Géta Därsö Aychéw*.

Church officers and *däbtära(s)* gave *rim* lands to four individuals. According to a document (P.L.c.8.) the officers and the *däbtära(s)* of the Church of *Rufa'él* returned *Arägay's* land, which was given to the church by *Balambaras Aymothuno*, to *Liqé Gäbrä Kidan* as "it was his own [*rim* land] from former days". The same document also states that this land was given to *Balambaras Aymothuno* by Emperor *Sahlä Dengel*, but it was later given by the same individual to the church. In fact, this land was held by *Balambaras Aymothuno* during the reign of Emperor *Egwalä S'eyon* and it was later renewed by Emperor *Sahlä Dengel*.² Apparently, the witnesses for this renewal of land were the officers and the *däbtära(s)* of the church. Similarly, another *rim* land given (P.L.c.5.) to the Church of *Däbrä S'ähay Qwesqwam* by *Aläqa Wäldä Egzi'e* was also given to a another senior cleric. The church officers and *däbtära(s)* of

¹ 195(Cr.L.14.).

² B. L. Or. 799, 7v.

this church gave this *rim* land to *Aläqa* Haylu , saying: “holding this land, may you serve in the church”. In 1750, the officers and the *däbtära(s)* of the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé also gave (P.L.c.1.) Haqiq's land at Boch to *Gera Géta* Asrat “after consulting with each other”. According to another document (P.L.c.3.) a *rim* land of the Church of *Abunä Täklä Haymanot* was also given to *Aqabé Sä'at Käbté* as an addition to his *rim* “because it is small”. What is so fascinating about this particular note is that it gives a list of people who farmed the *bota(s)* and specifies that the *bota(s)* were assessed for tax at 17 bars of salt.

130. P.L.c.1. *Däbtära(s)* and Church Officers to Asrat. Dated 1750.

During the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä Berhanat* Keflä Maryam, [and] *Liqä Mäzämran* Gorgoryos, the *däbtära(s)* and the officers [of the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé], having consulted with each other, have given the land of Haqiq [at] Boch to *Gera Géta* Asrat after Emperor Iyasu [II] reigned for 20 years (1750).

(B. L. Or. 777, 1v.)

131. P.L.c.2. *Däbtära(s)* to Därsä's son. c. 1750.

The *däbtära* [of the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé] have given the land of Wäyna, which was in the hand of *Wüyzäro* Wälanya, to the son of *Däjazmach* Därsä, saying: "He deserves it".

(B. L. Or. 777, 2v.)

132. P.L.c.3. Church Officers and *Däbtära(s)* to Käbté. c. 1765.

As his (*Aqabé Sä'at* Käbté) *rim* is small, [the following pieces of lands are given as] an addition - 9 bar [of salt land at] Mayagwa, which Amdä Mäsqäl farmed; 5 bar [of salt land] at Jäjjä, which Awsémadiqos farmed; As'umän Wäldä Maryam farmed 2 bar [of salt land at]; Bätamuqän Diddiqa 1 bar [of salt land, which] Bäshir farmed 1 bar [of salt land of] Meslu's, 1 *bota* Rägäya's, 1 *bota* Muzit's. The 12 [church] officers and all the *däbtära* have given [to him].

(B. L. Or. 745, 225r.)

133. P.L.c.4. The *Däbtära(s)* to Téwodros. 1755-69.

During the reign of Emperor Iyo'as, during the period of office of Empress Mentewab¹ as empress [and] *Qés As'é* Aynté as *qés as'é* and during the tenure of office of *Märi Géta* Qenwat, the *däbtära* [of the Church of *Abunä* Täklä Haymanot] have given 8

¹ Ms. Wäläntä Giyorgis.

meder of pasture land at Kemarwa to Azazh Téwodros. [The church of] Abunä Tä[klä Haymanot].

(B. L. Or. 745, 225r.)

134. P.L.c.5. Church Officers and *Däbtära(s)* to Haylu. c. 1795.

During the time that *Mäl'akä S'ähay* Sahlu was the *Aläqa* [and] during the tenure of office of *Liqä T'äbäbt* Engeda, the church [i.e., the officers and the *däbtära(s)* of the Church of Däbrä S'ähay Qwesqwam] have given the *rim*, which *Aläqa Wäldä Egzi'e* gave to the church, to *Aläqa* Haylu saying: "May you serve [in the church] hoding [this *rim* land]".

(B. L. Or. 776, 1r.)

135. P.L.c.6. *Däbtära(s)*, Officers and an *Aläqa* to Haylu. c. 1800.

During the period of office of *Mäl'akä S'ähay* Senä Dengel as *aläqa*, the *däbtära(s)*, the officers and the *aläqa* [of the Church of Däbrä S'ähay Qwesqwam] have given *Wäyzäro Wälättä Kidan's rim*, which is [a *rim*] of reciter of the psalter, to *Abba* Haylu.

(Eth. Mss. No. 27, 11v.)

136. P.L.c.7. *Däbtära(s)* to Kitéwo[n] Hamma. c. 1810.

Kitéwon Hamma's.

Ato Yemam has caused [a gift of a *rim* land to be made] to kitéwo[n] Hamma. The *däbtära* [of the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé] have given [a *rim* land to him].

(B. L. Or. 777, 281r.)

137. P.L.c.8. *Däbtära(s)* and Church Officers to Gäbrä Kidan. c. 1840.

In the Era of Matéwos, during the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel, during the period of office of *Aläqa S'ädalü* as *aläqa*, *Aläqa Teku* as *märi géta* [and] during the tenure of office of *Gera Géta Wäldä Täklé*, *Qäñ Géta Negusé* [and] *Bét T'äbaqi Géta(s) Märi Géta* Gäbrä Mika'él and *Däbtära Wärqé*, the *däbtära(s)* and the officers [of the Church

of Rufa'él] have restored Arägay's land, which Emperor Egwalä S'eyon and Emperor Sahlä Dengel gave to *Balambäras* Aymothuno, which he [in turn] gave to the church, to *Liqé* Gäbrä Kidan as it was his own [*rim* land] from former years.

(B. L. Or. 799, 7v.)

138. P.L.c.9. Därsö Aychäw and *Däbtära(s)* to Wäldä Täklé. c.1850.

Qäñ Géta Därsö Aychéw said: "I have given 1 *meder* of a *rim* of Newayä Kiro at Achärgé, which *S'äbaté* Adgo Aychäw bought from Ato Amayé for 1 *wäqét*, [and] 2 *meder* and a *qerana* [and] 1 *bota* to *Mämré* Wäldä Täklé, my confessor". The *däbtära* [of the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé] have [also] given the [other] half [of the *rim* to him].

(B. L. Or. 777, 280r.)

139. P.L.c.10. *Däbtära(s)* to Terengo Haylu. 1832-55.

In the Era of Marqos, during the tenure of office of *Mül'akä Berhanat* Gäbru [and] *Liqä Mäzämran* Mesgad, Emperor Sahlä Dengel has given the water blesser's [land at] Gorgora to *Blatta* Haylu. And the *däbtära* [of the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé] have given [the *rim* land] to Terengo Haylu.

(B. L. Or. 777, 17r.)

IV. Personal *Rest*, *Rim* and *Gult* Land gifts

Most of the marginal notes of personal land gifts are written with explanations why such land was given or bequeathed to individuals. The most common requests of the people who gave land to individuals are to "recite the Psalter" and/or to "provide a memorial feast" for them. Although land could simply be given to individuals, there are also situations where, upon the death of the benefactors, people needed to state that they provided commemoration for them. According to a document (P.L.d.32.) *Abba Bäkru* bequeathed *Abobarya's*, his uncle's, *rim* to *Bäjerond Engda*. In the same document, *Abba Bäkru* is quoted as saying: "I have provided a commemoration service of *Yabobarya*". There is also a document which states that the same *rim* land at *Sergwat* was first bequeathed to *Abba Bäkru* by *Abobarya* without any mention of demands laid down by the benefactor.¹ Moreover, *Bäjerond Säfonyas* gave (P.L.d.4.) his *mäsqäl* land at *Qähari*, to *Abéto Wäldä Yona*. There is also another document which states that *Bäjerond Säfonyas* bequeathed his *rest* land to *Abéto Wäldä Yona* and that the latter "provided funeral prayers and a commemoration for him".² *Abba Adära Giyorgis* also gave (P.L.d.7.) a total of his 3 *gasha* of *rim* land at *Bajāna* and *Ebnat* to *Wälättä Heywät*, his goddaughter, and another unspecified *rim* land at *Bälläsa* to *Wälättä Sellasé*, his daughter, stating that they may provide his commemoration with 900 *enjära*, which indirectly means providing a feast for 900 people. However, there is another document which states that *Wäyzäro Wälättä Heywät*, daughter of *Azazh Gälawdéwos*, sold the *rim* land, "which she received as a bequest from *Abba Adära Giyorgis* to *Belattén Géta Därräso* for 1 *wäqét* of gold".³ Moreover, *Wäyzäro Lancho* gave (P.L.d.11.) her extensive *gult* lands of a total of eight villages to *Wäyzäro Alt'ash* and the requirement attached to it was to provide a feast for two days every *Sellasé* day in *Hämlé* as well as to provide her memorial feast every year.⁴ *Wäyzäro Lancho* gave

¹ B. L. Or. 636, 3v.

² B. L. Or. 829*, 50v.

³ B. L. Or. 776, 10r.

⁴ I.e. the 7th day of every month.

the above-mentioned lands to *Wäyzäro* Alt'ash by placing her under a threat of an excommunication, which was pronounced by the father confessor of the former, in order to fulfil her wishes.

During the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis, *Mäl'akä Berhanat Zéna Gäbr'él* gave (P.L.d.22.) his *rim* land of the Church of As'as'amé *Qeddus Mika'él* to Deho Gäbru in order to recite the Psalter for him. There are also two documents preserved in the same manuscript, which state that Deho Gäbru gave his *rim* land to Wäldä Gäbru and *Mämré Kidanä Maryam*, but they fail to make any reference to the previous owner of the *rim* land.¹ As it was usual for individuals to hold several *rim* lands of the same church, it is difficult to establish whether the *rim* land mentioned here is that of *Mäl'akä Berhanat Zéna Gäbr'él*. During the reign of Emperor Gigar, Wäldä Gäbru gave the *rim* he received from Deho Gäbru to *Mämré Asbé*.² Similarly, during the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel *Mämré Kidanä Maryam* gave the *rim* land he received from Deho Gäbru to Gäbrä Giyorgis saying: "He served in the former years and may he recite the Psalter [in] later [years]".³ Moreover, during the reign of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon, Terengo, the daughter of *Blatta Läta*, gave (P.L.d.27.) the *rim* lands of the Churches of Däfäich'a, Ledäta, Rufa'él and Qwesqwam to Léwi Haylu in order to recite the Psalter for her. According to this brief document of the Church of Rufa'él: "When Läta Ternego was dying, she gave her *rim* to Léwi Haylu".⁴ However, the *rim* land of the Church of Däfäich'a was sold by Léwi Haylu and Teku to *Abba Gäbrä Maryam* for 42 bars of salt during the same period.⁵

Rim lands were also given to individuals as a reward for service. Wälta Gäbrä Iyäsus gave (P.L.d.40.) 4 *meder* to Beru, Metek's son, for serving him. Similarly, there is a document (P.L.d.23.) which records the gift of a *rim* land of the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé at Qällämuja to *Re'esä Däbr Kidanu* for serving her "for several

¹ B. L. Or. 778, 6r and 9v.

² B. L. Or. 778, 6r.

³ B. L. Or. 778, 9v.

⁴ B. L. Or. 799, 55r.

⁵ B. L. Or. 549, 144r.

years". *Wäyzäro* Wälättä Abib, the daughter of *Qés As'é Zäwäld*, gave (P.L.d.17.) her *rim* lands at Wägära and Bétä Lehém to *Wäyzäro* Engweday. The fact that she states that *Wäyzäro* Engweday, the younger one, is to receive the *rim* land and her instruction to the eldest one not to interfere with the gift gives the impression that the *Wäyzäro* was her own daughter. The land was given to *Wäyzäro* Engweday "for she has served me fetching water [and] providing fire".

The gift of *rim* land is also associated with caring for people especially during old age. Amaré Keflä Giyorgis lived in *Basha Daryé's* house and, apparently, he was looked after well during that time. As the result of this, during the reign of Emperor Iyo'as I, he gave (P.L.d.10.) his *rim* land to *Wäyzäro* Mers'it, *Basha Daryo's* daughter, saying: "[The people living] in the house of *Basha Daryo* have satisfied me [both] in clothing [and] in food for twelve years". In 1790, Mammo, the *Eqa bét* of the Church of Däbrä S'ähay Qwesqwam, also gave (P.L.d.18.) his *rim* land to *Wäyzäro* Yäweb Dar so that she might feed and clothe him while he was alive and provide a commemoration service for him when he died. It seems that the *rim* land given to *Wäyzäro* Yäweb Dar by *Eqa bét* Mammo was a fraction of a full *rim* because she had bought his 1 *gasha* at Biren from Säpir for an *alad* of gold.¹ Incidentally, it is important to note that *Eqa Bét* Mammo also sold his 1 *gasha* of *rim* land at Kirilämeb for an *alad* of gold to *Qüñ Géta* Feqrü.² *Märi Wäldu* also gave (P.L.d.16.) his half *gasha rim* at Bälläsa to Wärqit and another half *gasha* at Bälläsa and 1 *gasha* at Ebnat to *Abéto Gäbrä Sellasé*. The same note goes on to state that his supper and his cloth was to be supplied by *Abéto Gäbrä Sellasé* up to the time of his death and should his children come to claim the land, then they were to pay all the cost incurred by him. Moreover, *Emahoy Wälättä Sellasé* gave (P.L.d.26.) her *rim* to *Abba Wäsän* so that he might look after her until her death and also provide a commemoration for her after her death. After the death of *Emahoy Wälättä Sellasé*, "*Abba Wäsän* took the land after having looked after her for five years without violating her words and also having

¹ B. L. Or. 776, 2v.

² B. L. Or. 776, 12v.

fulfilled her wishes". The same document goes on to state that this *rim*, half of it at Boch and the other half at Gorgora, was bought by *Abba Wäldä Sellasé* and was given to *Emahoy Wälättä Sellasé*, who served as his attendant. The original holder of this *rim* land of the Church of *Däbrä Berhan Sellasé* used to be *Akalé*, the scribe, and it seems that half of the *rim* was sold at least once before *Abba Wäldä Sellasé* bought it for 3 *wäqét* of gold from *Abba Täklä Ab* during the reign of Emperor *Täklä Giyorgis*.¹ The same half-*rim* and another *bota* was also bought for 4 *wäqét* by *Abba Täklä Ab* from *Fasil* during the reign of the same sovereign.²

Although most of the *rim* lands, as expected, may well have passed to the children or relations of the holders of such lands, there is a failure to indicate the relationship of the individuals in most of the documents. There is also an occasion when an individual gave (P.L.d.3.) a *rim* land to *Wäsängé Yonakendis* stating: "He is my son [and] I have several cattle". During the reign of Emperor *Téwoflos*, *Wäyzäro Mammit* commissioned the Church of *Ledäta* at Gondar and she gave (P.L.d.2.) 33 *meder* and a *qerana* to seven *däbtära(s)* and 8 *meder* for the clearers of the wood. She gave this land by dividing her 150 *meder* and the rest of the land was given to her daughters, *Se'ertu* and *Adäy*, both of whom were counted as the eighth *däbtära*.³ Moreover, *Däjazmach Mika'él*, who was later promoted to the title of *ras*, gave (P.L.d.5.) several lands to his son *Abéto Wäldä Hawaryat* when he married *Wäyzäro Alt'ash*. During the reign of Emperor *Sälonon II*, *Ras Mika'él* also gave (P.L.d.12.) the *gult* lands of *Koza* and *Dabr* and the *rim* land of the Church of *Däbrä S'ähay Qwesqwam* to his daughter *Wäyzäro Wälättä Täklä Haymanot*. The same document also goes on to state that *Wäyzäro Wälättä Mika'él*, the wife of *Ras Mika'él*, also gave *Sarbakusa* and a *bota* of the Church of *Däbrä Berhan Sellasé* to her daughter. By far the largest gift of *gult* land (P.L.d.6.) to a single individual is that of *Däjazmach Näch'o* to his son *Abéto Kenfu*. According to Bruce, "Ozoro Esther married *Kasmati Necho*

¹ B. L. Or. 777, 7r.

² B. L. Or. 777, 286v.

³ Two copies of this charter also exist in the same manuscript on ff. 171r. and 173v.

of Tcherkin, who had a very large territory. Netcho left one son, Ayto Confu".¹ An astounding total of 103 villages yielding a tax of 7,630 bars of salt, 1,200 *gabba*² and 334 *shümma* were given to *Abéto* Kenfu in the presence of eight distinguished judges of the time.

¹ Bruce (1790): II, p. 613.

² Probably *gabbi*; i.e., a thick woven cotton cloth.

140. P.L.d.1. Gäbru's daughter to Mähatämä Sellasé.

1540-59.

Formerly, during the reign of our Emperor Na'od, [the land of] Hwayt was given as *gult* to Gäbru, the *däbtära* of the right, and to his son, Zär'a Mäsqäl. But, later on, during the reign of our Emperor Lebnä Dengel, it became a year of migration and the *däbtära* died during the migration and did not leave a son, only a daughter. Moreover, during the reign of our Emperor Gälawdéwos, this daughter bequeathed it to Mähatämä Sellasé. Let whoever transgresses and violates it [be anathematized].

(B. L. Or. 481, 60r.)

141. P.L.d.2. Mammit to Se'ertu and Adäy.

1708-11.

During the reign of Emperor Téwoflos, when *Wäyzäro* Mammit said [to the Emperor]: "Permit me to build [a Church of] Bä'ata", he said: "I give the permission but get [also] the permission of the priests". Out of 150 *me[der]*, she has given 33 *me[der]* and a *qerana* for the 7 choristers, 8 *mede[r]* for a clearer [of the wood], saying: "If the priests say: 'Where is our tax?' Then, I will also pay tax". She gave [the rest of the land] to her children saying: "May you celebrate Mass at [the Church of] Bä'ata". She has said: "Let the *Tabot* pay a tax of a *däl* [of of cereal] for the Eucharist at [the Church of] Mädhané Aläm". She has ensured that an anathema be pronounced [in regard to this arrangement]. The choristers are Matéwos, Tadéwos, Känäfro, Demét'eros, Wani Täcklo, Zäray, Dämé [and] the 8th [are] Se'ertu and Adäy. Let whoever violates this [arrangement] be anathematized by the power of Peter and Paul.

(B. L. Or. 518, 15v.)

142. P.L.d.3. Gädamawi Mammo to Wäsängé Yonakendis.

Dated 1728.

When Emperor Bäkafa has reigned for seven years (1728), Gädamawi Mammo gave his *rim* to Wäsängé Yonakendis saying: "He is my son [and] I have many cattle". The witnesses [for this are] *Liqé* Gérges, *Azazh* Bätaré, *Azazh* Täklä Häymanot, *Mäl'akä Berhanat* S'ähayä Ledda, *Liqä Mäzämran* Gorgoryos, *Azazh* Isayeyas, *Azazh* P'awlos and , his son, Gäbrä Dengel. And [the witnesses] from the *däbtära* [are] Aläfé Wäldä

Gérgés, *Abéto* Tälafinos, Awesabyos, Ent'o[n]yos, *Abba* Yohani of the [Church of Ha]märrä Noh, [and] the *Aläqa* [of the Church of Hämärrä Noh] *Mämher* Newayä Maryam, *Mämher* Filp'os, *Mämher* Tanash, *Abba* Kerkar, Yohannes, the scribe, *Abba* Mahtämä Krestos, Angäräb Isayeyas, Däbsan Natna'él, Iqoneyon, Gashu, Wäldä Éwost'atéwos, Me'edan Mammo, *Abba* Ayälé, *Mämher* Zäwäld, *Abba* Eskendes, Kesadé, Wäldu, Gajjegé Mammo, *Abeto* Arkä Sellasé, *Abéto* Arkä Sellus, *Abba* Senno, *Abba* Zekré, Gwäñej, Gäbrä Dengel, Abä Kobot, Hezqeyas, *Abéto* Habtä Dengel, *Abéto* Wäldä Egzi'abhér, Gäbrä Le'ul, S'ähayä Ledda, Eskendros, *Abba* Abreham, Zär'a Bruk, Zäfäru, Zäp'äraqelit'os, Wäldä Sellasé, Hirut [and also] all [the people of] the churches know of [this gift of *rim* land].

(B. L. Or. 508, 282r.)

143. P.L.d.4. Säfonyas to Wäldä Yonna.

1730-55.

In the Era of Matéwos, during the reign of Emperor Iyasu, Berhan Sägäd, [and] during the period[s] of office of *Abunä* Krestodolu as bishop, *Ech'ägé* Zäwäldä Maryam as *ech'ägé*, *Bäjerond* Säfonyas has given his *mäsqäl meder* of the Church of Maryam at Qähari, to *Abéto* Wäldä Yonna. The witnesses are the scholars [of the church]. So that this [arrangement] may not be violated, the *Abun* and the *Ech'ägé* have pronounced an anathema.

(B. L. Or. 636, 3v.)

144. P.L.d.5. Mika'él to Wäldä Hawaryat.

c. 1755.

When the son of *Däjazmach* Mika'él, *Abéto* Wäldä Hawaryat, was marrying *Wäyzäro* Alt'ashi, [these are] the lands which his father gave to him: Add Abo, Zehay, Adräb, Agwera, Mäqabr, Däqna, Add Amhara, Add Gwanso, S'älim Bayta, Debraré, Add Zeban, Enzona, Qäyeh Medri, Gebses, Memwaq [and] Add Gwembi. These 15 [villages] are situated in Na'edér. Gähgäb, Al Gumé, Debza, in [the region of] Ayba,

[villages administered by] 12 *ch'eqa(s)*, [and] in [the region of] Add Qesandun,¹ [villages administered by] 12 *ch'eqa(s)*; In Tämbén, Edgeb [and] Särizba; in Abärgälé,² Walwa, Dorozba, Bars'äné, in Lewaré Gamch'a, Lebäbarfa [and] May Ch'elm. The lands of his mother [are] Zheqamba, Wäger, S'äba, upper Add Sälam, Lower Add Sälam, Add Qäshi, May Tükli, Märbüt, Asgädu, Add Abyé, Add Dänagwel, Bitanya, Kärfaho, Nuna, Ma'ekäy Amfi, May Ebara, Beraqo, Add Sägän, Add Qäddäsom, Haddis Addi, Add Eyo, Sära'é, Amkeho, Add Hankera, Add Aqäyt, Add Shehay [and] Add Näqizom. The guarantors for this are: *Abéto* Téwodros for the land of his father [and] *Neburä Ed* Täklé for the land of his mother.

(B. L. Or. 732, 370r.)

145. P.L.d.6. Näch'o to Kenfu.

23rd March 1765.

The [*gult*] lands of *Däjazmach* Näch'o, which he gave to his son *Abéto* Kenfu [are as follows:] Armach'eho, Boch [and] Nor'amba; the tax of these [villages is] 154 *shämma*³ and a total of 385 [bars of] salt. [The tax of] Adnas'am, which is from the [land] of the children⁴ of Emperor Fasil[ädüs, i.e.,] from the children of *Abéto* Marqos is 200 *gabba*⁵ [and] 400 [bars of] salt; this [payment of] a third [of the tax of the land] is separately my own *rest*. Ch'elqén, Egerdämbäq, Fälläza, Särs'é, Zälläsa, Gwal, Jarma, Sukäyla, Adägdí,⁶ Arbägäbäla, Ench'edba, Dälgi, Shibaba, Enkora'amné, Enbakula, Zebandolgi, Ambadayt, Däränaho, Yätnora, Kullita, S'äbrä Haräshi, Wäkäbor, Mälhoso [and] Tallaq Fälläza - the tax of these [lands is] 1,000 *gabba* [and] a total of 2,000 [bars of salt]. [The tax of lands of] Mäyagam, Tenbho, Däbr [and] Järgäj is paid in cereal [and] it is a *restä gult*.⁷ A third of [the tax of] Ch'änqa, Jandba, Däbda [and] Malla is for the monks at Ambäsankilaw. Denkur, Ochära, Fälfäl, Ch'elel

¹ Ms. Adeq Sandun.

² Ms. Abärgälé.

³ Ms. shimma.

⁴ I.e., the descendants of the sovereign.

⁵ Probably gabbi, i.e., a thick woven cotton cloth.

⁶ This might be the same village stated as Add Gedi; see 249(L.D.1.).

⁷ Ms. rest gult.

[and] Fuch'äna - this is [the land], which I govern with Emperor Iyasu's children and [the people at] wallaj [and my share is] a third [of the tax]. The tax of Jan Fäqära [and] Wärq Meder, which are in the one zone, is 180 *Shämma* and the payment for the office holder is 1 *wäqét* of gold. And at S'ägädé, Addhamlé, Adds'ärärabi, S'elälo, Ch'ägwarhodo, his lands of the *dägga*, Ench'enaqo, Gabba, Melu, Zefan, Narchech, half of Zefan, Säwägulo, half of Zefan, Säramné, half of Zefan, Adrideba, Boch, from Koza, from [A]räbya, Gäsär, from Dablo, the *rim*¹ of [the Church of] Däbrä Berhan [Sellasé], from Semén, Kobra [and] Wümbärgé. The tax of these [villages is] 1,550 [bars of] salt. His *zämal*² and *mäsqäl*³ *rest*⁴ [land] is 33 villages. In Tegräy, [his *gult* lands are] Agamiya, Sägel, Ogu'odi, Megara, S'ämer, S'ä'adamba and from Dära, Bizawit, Wärab, *Qeddus* Mika'él [and] S'eyon. And in *Däga*, Zefanwo [and] Wändä'at'ashi and the Empress knows that I had given it to *Asälafi* Gädlu [but] when the Empress became angry with me, *Asälafi* Yäbaryambarya⁵ has held it. And in the *däga*, Kidanä Wäld used to hold [the lands at] Zefan Wärq [and] Omelashi illegally, but I managed to get them back after I killed him. And now, when the Empress became angry with me, *Ras* [?Wäldä Le'ul] has held it. My *rest* [land] at [A]yera [is] from below the market up to Angäräb and a *gänta* [or] *malkäñña* does not interfere [in the payment of tax on it]; I pay the tax direct [to the treasury of the emperor].

A total tax of 103 villages [is] 7,630 [bars of] salt, 200 *gabba* [and] 334 *shämma*. *Däjazmach* Näch'o, [gave these *gult* and *rest* lands] to *Abéto* Kenfu, who is his son by *Wäyzäro* Astér, saying: "Let the Emperor die. I have given [them to him]". The witnesses [are] *Liqé* Haylu, *Liqé* Gübrü, *Liqé* Fasilo, *Liqé* Botäré, *Azazh* Abésélom, *Azazh* Yonatan, *Liqé* Isayeyas and *Azazh* Abésélom. [This was written] in the Era of Matéwos, 16th Mägabäit, on Saturday (23rd March 1765).

¹ Ms. Arim.

² *Zämal rest* is a *rest* inherited from an ancestor and the tax on such land was paid to the Emperor.

³ *Mäsqäl rest* is a *rest* held by paying the tax to a church and thus not necessarily inherited from an ancestor.

⁴ Here, the word *rest* is used instead of *restä gult*.

⁵ Perhaps, an error for Yämaryam Barya.

(Ms. Eth. Windsor VI)

146. P.L.d.7. Adära Giyorgis to Wälättä Heywät and Wälättä Sellasé. 7th July 1766.
 In the Era of Marqos, in the beginning of Hämlé, the 2nd day, Monday (7th July 1766), during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä S'ähay* Nahuda [and] *Liqä T'äbäbt* Bättru, *Abba* Adära Giyorgis has given his 2 *gasha* [at] Bajäna [and] 1 *ga[sha]* at Ebnat to his goddaughter, Wälättä Heywät, saying: "Let her provide 900¹ *enjära* for my commemoration service. Let whoever violates this arrangement of mine be anathematized." He [also] said: "I have given [the *rim* land at] Bälläsa to Wälättä Sellasé, my daughter".

(B. L. Or. 776, 271r.)

147. P.L.d.8. Tälafinos to Adäy, Bechash and Menasé. c. 1767.
Liqä Mäzämran Tälafinos [has said]: "I have given the *rim* at Wawa with the house, the rectangular house at the Däbrü Berhan, which is situated next to the round house, and the furniture and oxen, [which are to be found] at Wäyna, to *Wäyzäro* Adäy. And if she is hungry, let her eat by selling [them]. I have given the *rim* of [the Church of] Ledäta and the round house at Däbrü Berhan to Bechash. I have given the [*?rim*] land at Wäyna to Menasé. But I have given all the *rest* to both of them. Let them provide a commemoration service [for me] together.

(B. L. Or. 777, 287r.)

148. P.L.d.9. Kidané to Esétu. 1755-69.
 In the Era of Luqas, during the reign of Emperor Iyo'as [I], during the period of office of *Aläqa* Yohannes as *aläqa*, [this is what] *Azazh* Kidané did when he was organizing his property: I have given the 3 *rim(s)* of [the Church of] Rufa'él, which was bought

¹ Ms. 990; the symbol 9 appears to have been repeated in error, the more so as it seems unlikely that 9900 or 4900 (9 x 900) *enjära* would have been disposed during this particular commemoration service.

from *Azazh* Yonatan, the son of *Azazh Tädäséwos*, with [*wäqét*] gold, the *bota(s)* [of the Church of] *Ledäta* [at] *Qahri* and *Yebstri*, which was bought from *Bäjerond* *Yordanos*, to *Esätu*, the daughter of *Wäyzäro* *Lullit*. This [*gift of rim(s) and bota(s)*] is for her; I have given them in addition [to her share] because I have benefited by selling her mother's 2 gold spears. The reason why I have done this is because of this. As to the rest of her share, let her take her share after having it divided between her sisters [and] her brothers. The witness[es] for this [are] *Abba Täklé*, *Abba Oshomé*, *Wäldä Le'ul*, the *Em(s) Märi Géta* *Mahs'äntu*, *Saqu'él* [and] *Abba Wäldä Kiros* [and] the rest [of the witnesses are] are all the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 604, 8r.)

149. P.L.d.10. *Amaré Keflä Giyorgis* to *Mers'it*.

1755-69.

During the reign of Emperor *Iyo'as* [I], during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä Gänät* *Wäldä Le'ul*, the witnesses who were present when *Amaré Keflä Giyorgis* was giving his *rim* to *Wäyzäro* *Mers'it*, the daughter [of *Basha* *Daryé*], saying: "[The people living] in the house of *Basha* *Daryo* have satisfied me [both] in clothing [and] in food for twelve years", [were] *Aläqa* *Fasil*, *Bét T'äbaqi* *Kasso*, *Eqa Bét Abba Bättru*, *Qäñ Géta* *Mäs'ehét*, *Abba Metk*, *Mäch'üné* *Neftalém*, *Belattén Géta* *Abésélom*, *Mäl'akä S'ähay* *Téwodros* [and] the *Wänbär Liqé* *Haylu*.

(B. L. Or. 778, 5v.)

150. P.L.d.11. *Lancho* to *Alt'ash*.

c. 1770.

The *gult* [lands] of *Wäyzäro* *Lancho* [are] *Gayla Beho*, *Morra*, *Gabba*, *Derma'ara*, *Ch'ach'eqwena*, *Qolaboch*, *Läg Aräbya* [and] *Asfa*. She gave these [*gult* lands] to *Wäyzäro* *Alt'ash* saying: "The feast [that I provide for the festival of] *Sellasé* [in] *Hamlé* [is to be held for] 2 days and [also] may you provide commemoration service for me every year. May you [also] celebrate Mass [at the Church of] *Däbrä Berhan*". She [gave these *gult* lands to her] having ensured that [this arrangement is concluded with] a pronouncement of an anathema by her confessor, *Abba Germa Iyäsus*. [The

person] who prepares the corpse for burial [is] *Qés Wäldä Mika'él*. She [also] gave 1 *meder* [at] *Mäzäwa* to *Aro Wäldä Mika'él*, the [future] keeper of [her] burial place. [She gave the land at] *Gerardän* for [the provision of] a lamp [at the Church of *Däbrä Berhan*] *Sellase*.

(B. L. Or. 777, 287v.)

151. P.L.d.12. *Mika'él* to *Wälättä Täklä Haymanot*. 1777-79.

During the reign of Emperor *Sälonon*, during the period of office of *Ras Haylu* as *bitwädäd*, during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä Berhanat Abésilom*, *Ras Mika'él*, [in regard to] the gift of his *rim* lands of [the Church of] *Qwesqwam* [at] *Koza* and *Daber* to his daughter *Wäyzäro Wälättä Täklä Haymanot*, said: "Let no one interfere [with it]". And her mother, *Wäyzäro Wälättä Mika'él*, has given her *bota* of [the Church of] *Däbrä Berhan* to her. And they gave this in the presence of the *Ras Lolé*, *Abéto Gäbrä Mäsih* [and] *Abéto Wäldä Nér*, the *Häs'é Lolé*¹. [The people] who had [this arrangement] written down are *Abba Wäldä Hawaryat*, *Wäldä Rufa'él*, *Saqu'él*, *Zäkaryas* [and] *Wäldä Gäbr'él*. The witnesses are all the *däbtära*. And, [in regard to the gift of the land] at *Daber*, he said: "Let her celebrate Mass [at the Church of] *Däbrä Berhan*".

(B. L. Or. 777, 5r.)

152. P.L.d.13. *Senu* to *Käbté* and *Es'ä Heywät's* daughter. c. 1780.

Abéto Senu says: "I have given my *bota* of [the Church of] *Däbrä Berhan*, which I bought by selling my mule before I married *Azazh Ya'eqo's* daughter, to *Käbté*. I have [also] given the land at *Wäyna*, which I bought with [*wäqét*] gold, to *Käbté* and the daughter of *Esä Heywät*. But, I have given the *bota* to *Käbté*".

(B. L. Or. 777, 284v.)

¹ Lit. "emperor's servant".

153. P.L.d.14. Täklé Goshu to Täyleñ.

c. 1785.

In the Era of Matéwos, during the tenure of office of Yä'abo Barya, Täklé Goshu¹ gave the half *rim* at Dablo, which he bought from Wäldä Qirqos, the son of *Däjazmach* Benyam, to his daughter Täyleñ, saying: "Let my children not interfere [with this arrangement]". And all the *däbtära* know [of] this [arrangement].

(B. L. Or. 777, 7v.)

154. P.L.d.15. Adäru to Dommo Gäbru.

c. 1785.

During the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä* [*S'ähay*] Rob'am [and] *Liqä T'äbübt* Gäbrä Sellus, *Mäl'akä Sälam* Adäru has given 4 *gasha* of *rim* of [the Church of Däbrä S'ähay] Qwesqwam to Dommo Gäbru saying: "I have given to him as a dowry". He [i.e., Dommo Gäbru] borrowed money in order to pay his [i.e., *Mäl'akä Sälam* Adäru's] debt of an *alad* gold, which he borrowed from *Abba* Kidanu [and another debt of] an *alad* [gold], which he borrowed from *Dereb* Quré, [and upon his death] he paid an *alad* [gold] for prayers to commemorate the 40th day [of his death]; [another] *alad* [gold] for a reciter of the psalter. I have [also] provided a commemoration service [with] 4 *wäqét* and an *alad* [gold]. The witnesses [are] *Mäm[h]er* Wäldä Yona, *Aläqa* Os'equ, *Re'esä Däbr* Godana, *Liqä T'äbübt* Zéna Gäbr'él, *Yaréd*, *Abéto* Täklä Gérgis, *Aläqa* Wäldä Egzi'e, *Qäñ Géta* Feqru, *Gera Géta* Qirqos, *Gera Géta* Selomon, Wäldä Egzi'abhér and the rest of [the people of] the church [also] know [of this].

(B. L. Or. 776, 9v.)

155. P.L.d.16. Wäldu to Wärqit and Gäbrä Sellasé.

c. 1785.

During the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä* *S'ähay* Rob'am [and] *Liqä T'äbübt* Gäbrä Sellus, *Märi* [*Géta*] Wäldu [said]: "I have given a half of *gasha* at Bälläsa to Wärqit. I have given [the other] half of *gasha* at Bälläsa [and] 1 *gasha* at Ebnat to *Abéto* Gäbrä Sellasé; [let him (*Abéto* Gäbrä Sellasé) provide me with] supper [and] clothes until I

¹ Goshu, the son of Täklé, bought the same *rim* land for 5 *wäqét* and an *alad* from Wäldä Qirqos; see B. L. Or. 777, 12v.

die. [But] when [my] children come [to claim ownership of the land], let them take [the land] after paying [him] his loss - whatever amount of loss he claims". The witnesses for this - all [the people of] the church know [about this arrangement]. The writer [of this charter is] As'efä Kiro.

(B. L. Or. 776, 272r.)

156. P.L.d.17. Wälättä Abib to Engweday.

1786/87.

In the Era of Luqas (1786/87), during the reigns of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis [and] Emperor Iyasu [III], Wäyzäro Wälättä Abib, the daughter of *Qés Asé Zäwäld*, said: "I have given my share [of the *rim* at] Wägära and Bétä Lehém to Wäyzäro Engweday, the younger one, for she has served me fetching water [and] providing fire. Let the eldest one not interfere [in this arrangement]. If this [arrangement] is violated, may my curse reach her". The witnesses are the *däbtära* of [the Church of] Abunä Täklä Haymanot.

(B. L. Or. 673, 2r.)

157. P.L.d.18. Mammo to Yäwb Dar.

14th October 1790.

In 7283 Amättä Aläm, in the Era of Luqas, on 6th Teqemt, on Thursday (14th October 1790), during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä S'ähay* Sählu [and] during the tenure of office of *Liqä T'äbübt* At'equ, Abba Wäldä Kiro, Täklä Haymanot, Engeda, *Asälafi* Yaréd, Wäldä Egzi'abhér, Wäldä Mika'él [and] Lullis, *Eqa Bét* Mammo has given [his *rim*] to Wäyzäro Yäwb Dar in total agreement saying: "May you feed and clothe me when I am alive [and] may you provide a commemoration service for me when I die". He [this arrangement with an oath] saying: "May the Emperor die". All the *däbtära* know [of this arrangement].

(B. L. Or. 776, 1r.)

158. P.L.d.19. Wäldä Mika'él to Wäldä Hawaryat.

1797.

During the reign of Emperor Yonas, during the [tenure of office of] *Mäl'akä Berhanat Yäselassé Barya*, Tegré¹ Wäldä Mika'él, has given Gwändäre² Adära Giyorgis' piece of land, [which is] half a *rim* land, at Dablo, which he bought from *Liqé Haylu*, to *Abba Wäldä Hawaryat*. Sä'alu [is] to take turns in celebrating Mass [at the Church of *Däbrä Berhan Sellasé* and] he [is] to attend [to him] whenever he is sick, and when he dies, he [is] to say prayers during burial, [and] to recite the Psalter [for the salvation of his soul].

(B. L. 777, 13v.)

159. P.L.d.20. Wäldä Sem'on to Gäbrä Yohannes.

24th June 1798.

In 7290 [Amättä Aläm], in the Era of Marqos, on 19th Säné (24th June 1798), during the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis, during the period of office of *Aläqa Zéna* as *aläqa* and *Liqé Hirut* as *liq*, *Abba Wäldä Sem'on* has given the *qerana* from *Mämré Wäldä Iyäsus'* [*rim*] land at T'äfowu to *Mämré Gäbrä Yohannes* saying: "Holding this [*rim* land], may you say a prayer [upon my death]". And the witnesses for this [gift of *rim* land are] *Märi Géta Asabu*, *Qäñ Géta Mehrätu*, *Gera Géta Yabo Lolé*, *Bét T'äbaqi Géta[s]* *Qäñ Géta Kenfu* and *Géta Léwi*, *Em(s) Abba Wäldä Sem'on* and *S'ädalü*, *Mäch'äné Abba Golä Negus*, *T'eran T'äbaqi Abba* [Ke]nfu. The rest of the *däbtära* [also] know [of this gift of *rim* land].

(B.L. Or. 799, 2r)

160. P.L.d.21. Marta to Mers'it.

1789-94.

During the reign of Emperor Hezqeyas, during the tenure of office of *Aläqa Feré*, *Wäyzäro Marta* [gave land] to *Wäyzäro Mert'it* saying: "She has fed me on borrowed [money and] when my children come [to claim the land], let them give her whatever the

¹ I.e., from the region of Tegräy.

² I.e., from the region of Gondar.

number of cattle she requested; otherwise, I have given her the land". The witnesses are *Liqé* Gäbru and *Abba* Iyosé, the confessor.

(B. L. Or. 777, 3r.)

161. P.L.d.22. Zéna Gäbr'él to Deho Gäbru. 1779-1800.

In the Era of Marqos, during the reign of Täklä Giyorgis [and] during the period of office of *Aläqa* Sahlu as *aläqa*, *Mäl'akä Berhanat* Zéna Gäbr'él has given his *rim* at Dañayé to Dého Gäbru saying: "May he recite the Psalter for me". The witnesses [are] *Liqä Mäzämran* Wäldä Kiro, *Gera Géta* Zäfät'ari, *Gera Géta* Wäldä Mika'él, *Qäñ Géta* Mänker, *Abba* Amonéwos, *Däbtära* As'equ, *Gera Géta* Lätbeyu (sic) [and] *Abéto* Wärqä Zäbo.

(B. L. Or. 778, 4r.)

162. P.L.d.23. Wärqit to Kidanu. 1779-1800.

During the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis [and] during the tenure of office of *Aläqa* Zä'aga'ezt [and] *Liqä Mäzämran* Wäldä Sem'on, *Wäyzäro* Wärqit, the granddaughter of *Mämré* Re'esä Häymanot, said: "I have given my [lands] at Qällämu [and] at Däbrä Berhan to *Re'esä Däber* Kidanu. He has served me for several years".

(B. L. Or. 777, 7r.)

163. P.L.d.24. Wälättä Mika'él to Kenfu. 1779-1800.

Wälättä Mika'él, the daughter of *Géta* Zekré, has given the *rim* to Kenfu saying: "Let my children not interfere [in this arrangement]. Let the Emperor die". [She gave this *rim* land] in the Era of Luqas, during the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis, during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä Sälam* Wasé, *Mämher* Abreham [and] *Géta* S'ähayä Ledda. She confirmed [the gift of the *rim* land to him] in [the presence of] 112 *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 508, 287r.)

164. P.L.d.25. Gäbru to Engda Wärq.

1801-18.

In the Era of Luqas, during the reign of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon, during the period of office of *Mäl'akä Gänät* Wäldä Maryam as *aläqa*, the daughter [of Gulma], Säbän has sold Gulma's *rim* at Bäälläsa [and] Dänbiya to *Gera Géta* Gäbru for 2 *drim* of gold. The guarantor [is] her son, Kidanä Maryam. And he (*Gera Géta* Gäbru) has given this *rim* to his godson, Engda Wärq. The witnesses [are] *Liqä Mäzämran* La[n]tebyä, *Aläqa* As'equ, *Aläqa* Gigar, *Qäñ Géta* Minker, Nargé, Gäbru, *Aläqa* Wäldä Gäbr'él, Gäbrä Maryam, the *Mäch'äné*, *Mämré* Kidanä Maryam, the *Em*, Gäbrä Kidan [and] S'éwa Dengel. The rest of the *däbtäira* [also] know [about this gift of *rim*].

(B. L. Or. 778, 6r.)

165. P.L.d.26. Wälättä Sellasé to Wäsän.

1801-18.

In the Era of Yohannes, during the reign of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon, during the tenure of office of *Aläqa* Yäsellasé Barya [and] *Liqä Mäzämran* Hablu, *Emahoy* Wälättä Sellasé gave Akalé's, the scribe, half-*rim* at Boch and Gorgora, to *Abba* Wäsän while she was alive in the presence of all the *däbtäira* saying: "Look after me until I die, and may you provide a commemoration service for me after I died". *Abba* Wäldä Sellasé bought [this *rim* land, and later on,] gave to her saying: "She has served me for several years". And *Abba* Wäsän, has fulfilled her wishes without violating her words and has looked after her for five years. He has thus held [the *rim*] after he arranged a burial prayer and a commemoration service for her. And as to the *sämon*, he has carried out his duty [in the church]. All the *däbtäira* know of this [arrangement].

(B. L. Or. 777, 16r.)

166. P.L.d.27. Terengo to Léwi Haylu.

1801-1818.

In the Era of Yohannes, during the reign of Emperor Ewalä S'eyon, during the period of office of *Aläqa* Neway as *aläqa*, Terengo, the daughter of *Blatta* Lätta, gave all the *rim(s)* at [the Churches of] Däfäch'a, Ledäta, Rufa'él, Qwesqwam [and] At'at'amé

[Mika'él] to Léwi Haylu saying: "May you recite the Psalter for me". The witnesses are the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 549, 144r.)

167. P.L.d.28. Lehkvet and Esétu to Yosab. 1801-18.

During the reign of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon, during the period of office of *Blatta* Kenfu as *dug*, *Wäyzäro* Lehkvet¹ and *Wäyzäro* Esétu, having given 15 *me[der]* and] 3 *bota* to *Abunä* Yosab, said: "As to the rest [of the land] bless it for me". The tax on the land is [to be paid] to [the Church of] *Mädhané Aläm* by the permission of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon. [The person] who allocatted [the land is] *Eshätu*, the recipient [is] *Godana*, the *abun lolé*.² [And the person] who had arranged a proclamation to be made [in regard to this gift of land] is *Abba Fänta*. She gave it [to him] saying: "As to the definiteness of this gift - may what ever the Gospel says and the [Holy] Cross blessed, make it firm for you".

(B. L. Or 518, 16r.)

168. P.L.d.29. Qonjet to Kidanu. 1821-30.

In the Era of Marqos, during the reign of Emperor Gigar, during the the period of office of *Aläqa* *Gäbrä Heywät* as *aläqa* [and] *Märi Géta Wäldä Rufa'él* as *märi géta*, *Däbtära* *Kenfä Rufa'él* as *eqa bét*, *S'éwa* and *Gäbrä Maryam* as *Mäch'äné(s)*, *Abba* *Haylu* and *Gäbru* as *em(s)*, *Qonjet* has given one of *Däbtära* *Héla's*³ *rim* to *Aläqa* *Kidanu* as she has failed to pay back 6 *wäqét* of gold to him.

(B. L. Or. 604, 77r.)

¹ Ms. Helhekt.

² Lit. "servant of an *abun*".

³ In 1781, *Däbtära* *Héla* bought a *rim* land of ½ of the church of *Ledäta* from *Wäyzäro* *Lehkvet* and *Wäyzäro* *Esétu*, the granddaughters of *Abéto* *Marqos*, for 7 *wäqét* and 2 *aqämät*; see B. L. Or. 604, 3r.

169. P.L.d.30. Webit to Wäldä Kidan and Hirut. 1821-30.

In the Era of Marqos, during the reign of Emperor Gigar, *Wäyzäro* Webit, the daughter of *Azazh* Ayahun, said: "I have given half of my *rim* to *Abba* Wäldä Kidan, my confessor, and [the other] half to Hirut, my daughter". The witnesses are the *däbtära*. The *Aläqa* [of the church] is *Mäl'akä Berhanat* Fänta. The witnesses are the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 777, 15r.)

170. P.L.d.31. Wälättä Amlak to Sahlu. 1821-30.

In the Era of Marqos, during the reign of Emperor Gigar, during the tenure of office of *Aläqa* Särs'u, during the period of office of *Liqä Mäzämran* Gäbrä Kidan as *märi géta*, *Wäyzäro* Wälättä Amlak gave *Abba* La'eku's¹ half *rim* to *Wäyzäro* Sahlu. The witnesses [are] the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 799, 213r.)

171. P.L.d.32. Bäkru to Engeda. 1821-30.

In the Era of Luqas, during the reign of Emperor Gigar, during the period of office of *Aläqa* Wäldä Eséy as *aläqa* [and] *Agafari* S'erha as *agafari*, *Abba* Bäkru bequeathed the *rim* of Yäbobarya, his uncle, which he [also] received it as bequest, to *Bäjerond* Engeda. And [erasure] Gu. And I have provided a commemoration service for Yäbobarya and the witnesses for this are the *däbtära(s)*, the *Agafari* [and] scholars [of the church]. So that this [record] may not be erased, an anathema was pronounced.

(B. L. Or. 636, 3v.)

172. P.L.d.33. Enqu to Hirut and Fänta. 1821-30.

In the Era of Yohannes, during the reign of Emperor Gigar, during the tenure of office of *Aläqa* Haylu [and] *Liqä Mäzämran* Gübrä Sellasé [and] *Mämheré* Enqu, while he disposed of his property, he gave the *bota* of the church with the [place where he

¹ *Abba* La'eku gave the *rim* land, which he received as a bequest from Wälanchäya Wäldä Kidan, to *Wäyzäro* Wälättä Amlak during the reign of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon; see B. L. Or. 799, 2v.

grows] vegetables to Hirut. He gave the *rim* [lands] at Qobla [and] Walaj to Azazh Fänta. The witnesses are the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or.777, 17v.)

173. P.L.d.34. Alwädehem Särt'u to Goshu. c. 1850.

Alwädhem Särt'u gave his share of the land to *Afä Negus* Gwäshu and his son Abetäw saying: "Let both of them benefit from it by dividing it amongst themselves". [He gave this land to them] so that they may feed, give drinks [and] clothe him. [He gave this land to them] during [the tenure of office of] *Aläqa* Fänta, *Liqä Kahnat* Wäldä Gäbr'él, *Mulu Géta* Eshätu, *Mulu Géta* Kidanä Maryam, *Qäñ Géta* Kassa [and] *Gera Géta* Neway [and] during the period of office of Zäryehun Wälättä Rufa'él [and] Wäyzäro Alt'ash as *ch'eqa(s)*. The witnesses for this [are] all the *däbtära*.

(Cambridge Add. 1570, 266r.)

174. P.L.d.35. Märso to Zäyt and Jänbär. c. 1850.

Däjazmach Märso gave the *bota*, which he bought from Endabtwa and Gäbrä S'eyon for 20 *ber*, to mothers of his children, Wäyzäro Zäyt and Wäyzäro Jänbär. [The person who acted as] the guarantor when he was buying [the *bota*] is *Aläqa* Semrät. [He gave this *bota*] during [the tenure of office of] *Aläqa* Fänta, *Qés As'é* Gäbrä Maryam, the *Gäbäz*, *Qäñ Géta* Kassa, *Gera Géta* Gäbrä Maryam, *Mulu Géta* Kidanä Maryam, *Mulu Géta* Eshätu [and] during the period of office of Wäyzäro Alt'ash [and] Zäryehun Wälättä Rufa'él as *ch'eqa(s)* [and] Wodo Engeda as *mälküñña*. The witnesses [are] all the *däbtära*.

(Cambridge Add. 1570, 266v)

176. P.L.d.36. Asayäkhäñ to Berhan. 1832-55.

In the Era of Matéwos, during the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel, during [the tenure of office of] *Mäl'akä Berhanat* Fänta, *Liqä Mäzümran* Düsta, *Re'esä Däbr* Gäbrä Maryam, *Qäñ Géta* Därso'aychäw, *Gera Géta* Fesha, *Bét T'übaqi* Zhämbär, *Mäch'üné(s)*

Gwezer [and] Haylu, *Eqa Bét* Haylu, *T'ëran T'äbaqi* Täklü, *Em(s)* Kenfu, *Abba* Wäldä Täklé [and] Sahlü, *Käntiba* Asayäkhäñ gave *Abba* Räba Kesos' *rim*, which he received from the *däbtära(s)*,¹ to *Mäl'akä Berhanat* Berhan. And all the *däbtära* have given [their] permission. And so that this [arrangement] may not be violated, an anathema was pronounced.

(B. L. Or. 777, 282v.)

176. P.L.d.37. Teshal to Engeda, Sellas, Sahlü, Mälkamé, Wärqé and Wäldä Léwi.

1832-55.

In the Era of Marqos, During the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel, during the period of office of *Aläqa* Täklü as *aläqa*, [this is what] *Wäyzäro* Teshal did [regarding her land]: she gave a third of her *rim* [at] S'ädda to Engeda saying: "May you recite the Psalter for me". Two-thirds [of the *rim*] belongs to *Aläqa* Käbté. I have given the *rest* at Arba'etu Ensessa to my goddaughter Sellas. I have given my *rest* at Dänbiya to *[E]mahoy* Sahlü, Mälkamé, Wärqé [and] Wäldä Léwi, the son of Sät'ädi. Let Wäldä Léwi be the *aläqa*,² Besides this, I have no cattle or nothing else except what I wear. And the house I live in is not mine as he had bought it by selling the beam[s] and the door[s]. The witnesses [are] Awkatéwos Haylu, *Mämheré* Asbé, *Liqä Mäzämran* Gäbrä Maryam, *Bét T'äbaqi Géta* Gäbrä Arägawi, *Däbtära* Käbté [and] *Mämré* Senu, the confessor.

(B. L. Or. 778, 9v.)

177. P.L.d.38. Wäldä Wahd to S'äbaht.

1832-1855.

In the Era of Marqos, during the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel, during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä Berhanat* Yüsellasé Barya, *Mämher* [Wä]ldä Wahd has given the *gult* [lands] of his mother and father to *Abéto* S'äbaht. The witnesses are all the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 777, 19r.)

¹ The *däbtära(s)* of the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé gave the *rim* land at Wäyna to *Käntiba* Asayäkhäñ during the reign of the same sovereign; see B. L. Or. 777, 281r.

² I.e., the overall responsibility regarding her *rest* land was entrusted to him.

178. P.L.d.39. Wälättä Feqr to Tädla.

1832-55.

In the Era of Luqas, during the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel, during the period of office of *Aläqa* Wäldä Maryam as *aläqa*, *Märi Géta* S'éwa as *märi géta*, *Däbtära* Gäbrä Sellasé as *eqa bét*, Haylu and Engeda as *em(s)*, Wäldä Täklé and Gäbrä Kidan as *mäch'äné(s)*, *Emété Wäyzäro* Wälättä Feqr has given Empress Astér's, her mother, 2 *rim* and *bota* of [the Church of] Ledäta to *Ato* Tädla. The witnesses are the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 604, 40r.)

179. P.L.d.40. Wälta Gäbrä Iyäsus to Beru.

1855-68.

In the name of the Father and the Son [and the Holy Spirit]. In the Era of Marqos, during the reign of Téwodros, during the period of office of *Aläqa* Dästa as *aläqa*, Wälta Gäbrä Iyäsus [said]: "I have given the 4 *meder* [at] *Mägäch'*, which Yäturo Habtu farms, to Beru, the son of Metek, as he has served me". The witnesses [are] the officers [and] the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 638, 246v.)

180. P.L.d.41. Gäbru to Bällät'äch.

1855-68.

In the Era of Marqos, during the reign of Emperor¹ Téwodros, during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä Berhanat* Gäbru [and] *Liqa Mäzämran* Dästa, *Liqa Mäzämran* Gäbru gave, *Gera Géta* Wäldä Gäbr'él's 10 *meder* [at] Wawa,² 5 *meder*, which he bought from the child of Awsé Bätru [and] 5 *meder* of *liqa t'äbäbt's rim*, which he bought from *Wäyzäro* Etehun,³ to his daughter Bällät'äch. She is going to help [prevent anyone] who happens to come [claiming land] from the children.

(B. L. Or. 777, 19v.)

¹ Ms. king.

² *Liqa Mäzämran* Gäbru bought 4 *meder* and 2 *bota* at Wawa from Hirut for 1 *wäqét* during the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel; see B. L. Or. 777, 284r.

³ *Wäyzäro* Etehun, the daughter of Abéto Gäbrä Sellasé, sold *Liqa T'äbäbt* Bätru's 5 *meder* and a *bota* at Sufanqära to *Liqa Mäzämran* Gäbru for 3 *ber* during the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel; see B. L. Or. 777, 280v.

181. P.L.d.42. Terengo and Yäwärq Weha to Dästa.

c. 1860.

Wäyzäro Terngo and *Wäyzäro* Yäwärq Weha gave *Dug* Abuqir's *rim* of 10 *meder* and the *bota* at Qobla to *Liqä Mäzämran* Dästa saying: "He has served [in the church] for us during the drought [season and] let his sisters not come near him [claiming the land]". The witnesses are the *däbtära*. And Hasét, his sister, has given her share [of a *rim* land] to *Liqä Mäzämran* Dästa.

(B. L. Or. 777, 280v.)

CHAPTER FOUR

CROWN LAND

According to the charters, the Emperors, besides granting *gult* lands to churches and notable individuals, also owned them in their own right. The documents state that *gult* lands were held by sovereigns on a permanent basis. According to Father Alvarez, the Emperor "has in most of his kingdoms large farms and estates, like the crown lands in our parts".¹ The same writer goes on to state that: "a great quantity of bread is gathered, which is given to honourable persons, and the poor, and to poor monasteries and churches, without the Prester John getting any benefit from the produce and revenue of these crown lands except alms."² Therefore, it appears that the sovereigns used their *gult* lands as a means of identifying themselves as owners of *gult* land in a particular region rather than as a major source of constant income for themselves as was the case with their subjects and churches. The Portuguese priest elaborates on the extent of the emperor's dependence on his *gult* land by stating that "he has nothing for himself, neither is any of it sold, and all is spent and given".³ Similarly, Father Almeida also noted the existence of crown lands in the country and stated that the emperor:

raises ten or twelve thousand loads of provisions. He also receives a tribute in provisions in the payment of the farmers of Dambea, Gojam, Begameder and some other provinces, each man paying about one load. Most of this, however, he has given to different lords. What he receives from Dambea, which would be some 10 or 12 thousand loads, he divides among soldiers to whom he has not given lands, gives as alms to the poor and divides among lords and ladies at court who are in need.⁴

¹ Beckingham and Huntingford (1961): I, p. 248.

² Beckingham and Huntingford (1961): II, p. 512.

³ Beckingham and Huntingford (1961): I, p. 248.

⁴ Beckingham and Huntingford (1954): p. 87-88.

Furthermore, regarding the cultivation of crown lands, Father Alvarez writes that these estates were “ploughed and sown by his slaves, with his own oxen”.⁵ The view that the estates were ploughed by the sovereign's oxen is confirmed in a charter of Emperor Iyasu II and Empress Mentewab, which concerns a grant of *gult* land to the Church of Reb S’eyon.⁶ Towards the end of the charter, one of the sovereigns authorizes a grant of a *rim* land “from [the land] which I plough with my oxen” to *Agafari* Kenfu so that the *Agafari* may provide an income for the celebration of Mass at the church of Reb S’eyon, which was apparently commissioned by a certain *Azazh* Yabo Barya. According to Gebre Wold Ingeda Worq, the crown land was “selected from good and fertile lands” and it was “co-operatively cultivated, sown and harvested by the peasants”.⁷ The grain, the Twentieth Century writer continues, was eventually collected under the supervision of a *mesläne*⁸ or court agent, who also ensured that the yield was stored in “the granary of the palace”.⁹

Although, the number of charters of crown lands in the Collections is limited, the available documents are sufficient to reflect on the manner and ways of allocation of such lands amongst the sovereigns and their children. To start with, the land of Däl’anta, which was then administered by 55 officers was, for instance, kept (Cr.L.5.) as a *gult* by Emperor Lebnä Dengel, who stated that it was to be “for ourselves today and [also] later on for our children”. The same *gult* land was later granted (Cr.L.6.) as *gult* to unspecified royal children by Emperor Minas. There is also a note preserved in the same manuscript which states the distribution of *gult* land amongst eight children, one of them being Särs’ä Dengel, who later reigned with the name Mäläk Sägäd.¹⁰ Emperor Minas’ reference to the grant of the land of Däl’anta as *gult* to the unspecified children may thus be to his own children. Moreover, upon the death of sovereigns, royal children were granted *gult* lands by the succeeding emperor. Emperor Eskender

⁵ Beckingham and Huntingford (1961): I, p. 248.

⁶ B. L. Or. 776, 10r.

⁷ Gebre Wold Ingeda Worq (1962): p. 306.

⁸ An officer in charge of a few villages.

⁹ Gebre Wold Ingeda Worq (1962): p. 306.

¹⁰ B. L. Or. 481, 124v. and 132v.

is reported in two charters as having granted *gult* land to the children of the Emperors Zär'a Ya'eqob (Cr.L.1.) and Bä'edä Maryam (Cr.L.2.).

There were occasions when the sovereigns also specified *gult* land for their commemoration services. The charter (Cr.L.3.) of Emperor Eskender, for example, states that the land of Mäshaqo was granted "for the commemoration service of myself and for our lady". An income from the *gult* lands allocated for the purpose of commemoration services was collected by an officer who bore the title of *zekerä negus* and was used for organizing a prayer for the sovereigns and a feast for the clergy during the event in a specified church of their choice. As already mentioned, *gult* lands were also granted for the commemoration service of Emperor Iyasu I¹¹ and Emperor Iyasu II,¹² but all these charters fail to state where the commemoration service was to be held.

The sovereigns also received *rest* as well as *rim* lands from their subjects. The earliest reference to a gift (Cr.L.4.) of land and a house to a sovereign is that of a certain woman named Nägäd Wärqä to Emperor Na'od. The same document goes on to state that this gift of land and a house to the Emperor was later approved by her three daughters. Moreover, Empress Mänän, the wife of Emperor Yohannes III, also received (Cr.L.11.) a *rest* land at Maqwera and Melash Qwäyefñ from a certain woman named Wälättä Sém. Moreover, there are also documents which state that the Emperor and the Empress also received *rim* lands from an individual and the *däbtära(s)* of the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé. While the Emperor is reported as having received (Cr.L.10.) 4 *gasha* of *rim* land of the Church of Däbrä S'ähay Qwesqwam from Abéto Abänér, another document (Cr.L.14.) states that Empress Mänän was also given a total of 93 *meder* at Wäyña as *rim* by the the *däbtära(s)* of the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé. The charter goes on to state that the 63 *meder* and 30 *meder* were lands of Tegreans and Muslims respectively and that the Empress was required to give 2 *ch'an* of cereal for the provision of Mass at the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé. The

¹¹ 15a(C.L.a.15a.).

¹² 24(C.L.a.24.).

Empress was also given the office of *gänta* (Cr.L.13.) in seven specified regions by royal princesses.¹³ According to other documents in the Collections, the Empress was involved in accumulating *rim* lands well before her investiture as an Empress. *Wäyzäro Mänän*, as she was known before she took the title of empress in 1841, lived in the district of *Däbrä Tabor*. According to two French travellers, Edouard Combes and Maurice Tamisier, who paid her a visit in September 1835, she “lived at Debra Tabor or at the pretty village nearby, Mahdere Maryam”.¹⁴ It is thus significant that she is mentioned in five land sale documents in the marginalia of one manuscript (Cambridge Add. 1570) stating that she bought *bota(s)* of the Church of *Mahdärä Maryam* for a total of 7 *wäqét* and 16 *ber* during her stay in this region¹⁵. The Empress is also reported to have bought (L.S.15.) a *rim* land and a *bota* of the Church of *Ledäta* in *Gondär* for 30 *ber* from *Garri* and *Tämürt’a*, the children of *Balambäras Wäldä Sellasé* between 1841 and 1855.

¹³ There are also two other documents stating the same arrangement; see B. L. Or. 778, 2v. and B. L. Or. 784, 209r.

¹⁴ Rosenfeld (1979): p.73.

¹⁵ 190(Cr.L.9), Cambridge Add. 1570, 260v., 263v. and 264v.

182. Cr.L.1. Eskender to the children of Zär'a Ya'eqob.

Dated 1485/86.

I, Eskender, named Qwäst'änt'inos by the grace of God, have granted the land of Mä'asä as *gult* to the children of Emperor Zär'a ya'eqob in the Era of Luqas, the Evangelist, after I reigned for 7 years and 7 months in 6978 A.M. (1485/86) during [the tenure of office of] *Qalä Hasé(s)* Asratä Maryam and Heywättä Deb, *Aqamba Harb Gwäshä*, *Shobher Zär'u*, *Afä Aqamba Däbulé*, *Mälkäñña(s)* P'ét'ros and Beshalé and *Liqä Kahnat* Amha Läs'eyon. Let whoever violates and causes trouble be anathematized by the mouth of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and by the mouth of Mary, the bearer of God, by the mouth of the Prophets and Apostles, [and] by the mouth of the Just and the Martyrs. Let them be anathematized and cursed for ever and ever. Amen and Amen. Let it be. Let it be for the sake of the flesh and blood of Christ.

(B. L. Or. 481, 92r.)

183. Cr.L.2. Eskender to the children of Bä'edä Maryam.

c. 1485.

In praise of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. I, Eskender, named Qwäst'änt'inos by the grace of God, have granted the land of Anbä'asäl as *gult* to the children of Emperor Bä'edä Maryam [I] in the Era of Luqas, the evangelist, [during the tenure of office of] *Qalä Has'é(s)* Asratä Maryam¹⁶ and Heywättä Deb. And the governors of the *Amba*, who were present were *Aqamba Harb Gwäshä*, *Shobher Zär'u*, *Afä Aqamba Däbulé*,¹⁷ *Mälkäñña(s)* P'ét'ros and Beshalé and *Liqä Kahnat* Amha Läs'eyon. Let whoever takes [this land] be anathematized by the mouth of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, by the mouth of [the clergy of] the Holy Church and by the mouth of Mary, the bearer of God. Let them be anathematized and cursed for ever and ever. Amen and Amen.

(B.L. Or. 481, 92r.)

¹⁶ Ms. Asäratä Maryam.

¹⁷ Ms. Däbulé.

184. Cr.L.3. Eskender for himself and the Empress.

Dated 1492.

I, Eskender, named Qwäst'änt'inos by the grace of God, have given the land of Kal'an on 17th Mägabit, on Thursday, when I was at Mäshaqo for my commemoration and the commemoration of our Lady [blank] on the year of [14]84 A.M. (1492) in the [presence of] Eléni, the mother of the Emperor, Mär'ed Mogäsa, the *Ba'altéhat* of the left, Mär'ed Zélla, *Ba'altéhat* of the right, Mär'ed Hayla, the *Bä'alttä Shähna*, Täsfa Giyorgis, the *Mükbeb* of the Church [of Atrenosä Maryam], *Aqabé Sä'at* Täklä Iyäsus Mo'a, Habtä Maryam, the *Bitwädäd*¹⁸ of the left, Krestos Mesléyä, [the *Bitwädäd*] of the right, *S'ärag Masäré*¹⁹ Täkläy, *Qés Has'é* Didmos, *Liqä Däbtära* Zäkaryas, Yoséf, *Liqé Kahnat* of Däbrä Nägwädgwad, Gäbrä Maryam, the *Liqä Kahnat* of Amhara, Qäläbas Hasbäla, P'ét'ros, the *Raq Masäré*²⁰ of the left, Täsfa Iyäsus, [the *Raq Masäré*] of the right, Sebhat Lä'ab, the *S'ähafä Lam* of Amhara, Gäbrä Enderyas, the *S'ähafä Lam* of Shäwa, *Géta* Gäbrä Mäsqäl, *Qälä Has'é* of the right, *Géta* Asrat, *däbtära* of the [Church of] Iyäsus, *Géta* Nazo, *däbtära* of the [Church of] Mäsqäl, *Zhan Masré* Nazé, *Bäjerond*²¹ of the Bäräkät Bét, Zéna Hawaryat, the *West' Säw*, *Zhan Häs'é* Asrat, *Zhans'erar*²² Admas Häylyé, *Zhans'erar Géta* Gwäsh Bäwäsän, Habtä Maryam, *Hedug West' [Säw]*, Tükästä Berhan, *Aqamba* of the *Amba*, *Shob[he]r* Fesuh Amlak, *Afä Aqamba* Habtä S'eyon, the *Mälkäñña(s)* P'ét'ros and Beshalé, *Täzkarä Negus*²³ Bähaylä Iyäsus, Musé, the King of Kwälä'a, Amättä Berhan, the *Awfari* of Mal, Zär'a S'eyon, *däbtära* of Däbrä Nägwädgwad, Gäbrä Mär'awi, *däbtära* of [the Church of] Günättä Giyorgis, Yoséf, the *Bäjerond*²⁴ of Mängäsä Bétä, Barok, the *Géta* of the deacons, Täklä Haymanot, *Hedug Raq*²⁵ [*Masäré*] of the right, Feré Mika'él, [*Hedug Raq Masäré*] of the left, Mahbär, *Géta* of the left [and] Zär'ä Maryam, [*Géta*] of the right, Deb Anbäsä, Neserqana [and] Gwäshä, the *Bä'alä Heg*. We have

¹⁸ Ms. Behet Wädäd.

¹⁹ Ms. S'äraj Masäré.

²⁰ Ms. Eraqu Ma'esära.

²¹ Ms. Bäzer Wänd.

²² Ms. Zhins'erar.

²³ It also appears as zekerä negus.

²⁴ Ms. Bézerwänd.

²⁵ Ms. Erag.

granted [the land] as *gult* for the commemoration service of ourself during [the tenure of office of] these [officials and also] Keflä Maryam and *Zhans'erar* Senäy.

(B. L. Or. 481, 208r.)

185. Cr.L.4. Berhanut and Nägäd Würqa to Na'od. 1494-1508.

In praise of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Berhanut, the daughter of Gäbrä Säma'et, gave her father's house with land [to Emperor Na'od]. Formerly, Nägäd Würqa, her mother, gave a house with land to Emperor Na'od during [the tenure of office of] *Aqamba* Yäwha Krestos, *Shobher* Abél, *Afü Aqamba* Sallä Anbäsa, the *Mälkänña(s)* S'ärsä Wängél and Fäntay, and *Liqä Kahnat* Däqsäyos. Let whoever violates these [gifts] be anathematized by the mouth of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and by the mouth of Mary, the mother of Jesus. For Ever [and ever]. Amen. Additionally, Qwäs'elä Günüt and S'äbälä Maryam, the daughters of Gäbrä Säma'et, gave a house with land to Emperor Na'od. Let whoever violates [arrangement] be anathematized by the mouth of the Prophets and the Apostles. For ever [and ever]. Amen.

(B. L. Or. 481, 92r.)

186. Cr.L.5. Lebnä Dengel for himself and his children. 1508-40.

In praise of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. I, Lebnä Dengel, have granted the region of Däl'anta, [which is a land of] 55 officers, a *gult*, saying: "For ourselves today and [also] later on for our children". And the amount of the tax to be paid in [the month of] Genbot ²⁶ [is as follows]: 400 *wädamät*²⁷, 200 *Gwäradé* [of] honey, 1000 sheep for the New Year, 84 cows, *qerana*²⁸ with 12 [bars of] salt every month for the changing of the month [and] 55 mules for travelling. The amount of the tax, which used to be [paid] before [this was] 1,000 measures of honey, 55 mules and 80 cows.

²⁶ Ms. Gemot.

²⁷ Unidentified measure, perhaps, used for cereal.

²⁸ Ms. Qwerañña;

And, later on, [the Emperor] ordered *Qalä Häs'ë Bäfechäh Anqit'os* [and] *A[qa]mba Gwäshä Bäwäsän* [saying]: "Having examined [the region], make an assessment". And they assessed the tax of these [regions to be paid in] Genbot. This *gult* [land] was assessed in the month of Mägabrit during [the tenure of office of] *Aqamba Särs'u*, *Shobher Täklä Näbiyat*, *Afä Aqamba Sahlä Wängél*, the *Mälkänña(s)* Hézo and Besrat, the three *qolafochä(s)*²⁹, *Arkä Yohannes*, *Sebhat* [and] *Abreham*, *Harb Zär'a Maryam*, *Liqä [Kahnat] Käbtu*, [*Liqä Kahnat*] of the [region of] *qolla*, *Däqesyos*, the *Liqä Kahnat* of the [Church of] *Egzi'abhér Ab*, *Sinoda*, the *Mämher* of [the Community of] *Israel*, *Shobher Bä'alä Harb*³⁰ *Sibsé* and *Aqamba Bä'alä Härb Särs'u*. This [payment] of tax was established [and] four *Raq Masärés*³¹ of the court, whose names [are] *S'egé Mäsqäl*, *Dafneta*, *Zär'a Maryam* [and] *Haryo* made all the officers of *Däl'anta* pronounce an oath that [the payment of the tax] would not be included with that of *Fechä* [but] to be for the children of King *Lebnä Dengel* [in the same manner as it was] in the former years. *Abunä Marqos* has pronounced an anathema and it is written in in Jerusalem and at [the Church of] *Egzi'abhér Ab*. Let whoever robs [the *gult* land] and violates [the ordinance] whether king or bishop or governor or [member of the community of] *Israel* or an infidel be anathematized by the mouth of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and by the mouth of Our Lady Mary [and] by the mouth of the 12 Apostles and by the mouth of the 15 Prophets and 72 Diciples [and] by the mouth of *Mikael* and *Gebreal* [and] by the mouth of the 7 Archangels [and] by the mouth of the 24 Priests of Heaven and by [the mouth of] the 4 Living Creatures [and] by the mouth of the Just and Martyrs. Let him be anathematized, pierced, defeated and banished. Let him be. Let him be like Simon, the magician, and like Judah, the killer of his master. Amen and Amen. Let it be a *gult*. During [the tenure of office of office of] *Aqabé Sä'at Wä'alé Maryam*, *Liqä Liqawent Kummo*, *Liqä Ma'emieran Mäkfälto*, *Qés Has'ë Rosé*, *Bäträ Yarek Zädnegel*, *Liqä Däbtära S'egé*, *Täklä Ab*, *Abba Bäsemrät*, *Bét*

²⁹ Eunuchs

³⁰ Ms. *Läshobher Bä'elä Harb* instead of *Bäshobher Bä'alä Harb*.

³¹ Ms. *Aramasärachä*.

*T'äbaqi Engedo, S'ärag Masäré*³² Dahbü Maryam, Archbishop *Abba Gäbr'él*, our Bishop *Abba P'ët'eros, Qalä Has'é Mäkfälto, Zhans'erar Géta Kokäb, Aqamba Asä'ané, Shobher*³³ Hadära, *Afä Aqamba Kokäb, Mälkäñña(s) Täklé* and *Ezera, Liqä Kahnat Fasilädäs, Mämher Abba Ezera, S'éwa*, the *Liqä Kahnat* of the *qolla, Raq Masäré*³⁴ Täklé [and] *Zhan Gäbär*³⁵ Bätür Sellasé Babba. Having taken the *gult* [lands] of *Mägwät, Shämberit, Ezaba, S'äraqwa, Beqwayet, Wägäl* [and] *Qäläbas* from the *Gera Ba'altéhat*, we have granted them to the children so that it may be for the children and [their] descendants for ever and ever. Let whoever violates [this ordinance] and robs [these *gult* lands] whether a king or governor be anathematized by the mouth of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, by the mouth of our Lady Mary, by the mouth of the 12 Apostles, by the mouth of 15 Prophets and 72 Disciples, by the mouth of Michael [and] Gabriel, by the mouth of Seraphim and Cherubim [and] by the mouth of the 7 Archangels, by the mouth of 24 Priests [of Heaven] and by the 4 Living Creatures, by the mouth of the Just and the Martyrs, by the mouth of nuns and monks. [Let him be] anathematized and defeated like Simon, the magician, for ever and ever. Amen. And [Let him be anathematized] like Judas, the betrayer. Amen. The *däbdabé* of the Gospel.

(B. L. Or. 481, 132v.)

187. Cr.L.6. Minas to ?his children.

1559-63.

In praise of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. We, Minas, named by the grace of God, and our reign name, Admas Sägäd, have given the land of Däl'anta to the children. And as.

(B. L. Or. 481, 132v.)

³² S'ärajä Masäré.

³³ Ms. Sobher.

³⁴ Ms. Eraq Masära.

³⁵ Zhon Gäbär.

188. Cr.L.7. Särs'ä Dengel to S'egé Roman.

1563-97.

In praise of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. We, Särs'ä Dengel, whose reign name is Mäläk Sägüd, have taken lands from Wäyzäro S'egé Roman, named Moyo, Läbät, Läbät (sic) Debel, Wähat, Halqa, Dälba, Dägänsa, Milawa, Zäbäkwela, Delgena, two-thirds of Kwela, Seba and Bafét, S'ämbo, Anqwat, Bä'agäbabu, two-thirds of Haläsana - we took all these [lands] as an exchange. And we have given [to her the following lands] in the region of Fechäh: Askara, Gera Wägäla [and] Qän Wägäla. [We have given] Lämch'an in Gojjam³⁶ which is as much as Sina, and the listed of lands in the region of Dälba and Dägänsa. Two-thirds of [the land of] Kwela. We have given these lands [to her so that] she may benefit from them until she dies..We took all these lands at our expense. Let whoever robs [these *gult* lands] and violates [the ordinance] be anathematized by the mouth of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and by the mouth of Peter and Paul. Let him be anathematized and sealed for ever and ever. Amen.

(B. L. Or. 481, 132v.)

189. Cr.L.8. Hirut to an empress.

1801-18.

In the Era of Marqos, during the reign of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon, during the period of office of *Aläqa* Wäldä Esé as *aläqa*, *Agafari* S'erha as *agafari*, *Gera Géta* Hiru[t] has sold 2 *me[der]* to [the] Empress for 1*wäqét*. The guarantor [is] S'erha [of the region of] Jowana.

(B. L. Or. 636, 4r.)

190. Cr.L.9. Bitäweleñ and Feré to Mänän.

c. 1835.

Emäté ³⁷*Wäyzäro* Mänän has bought a *bota* from Bitäweleñ for 10 *ber*. The guarantor [is] Bättru Engeda. She also bought a *bota* from *Gera Géta* Feré for 25 *ber*. The guarantor [is] Haylu Mert'it. He (*Gera Géta* Feré) has arranged prayers after the death

³⁶ Ms. Gwäjjam.

³⁷ Ms. Eméyäté.

[?of the previous owner of the *bota* and also] a commemoration service.at [the cost of] 12 *ber* during [the tenure of office of] *Aläqa Wäldä Maryam, Liqä Kahnat Kidanä Qal, Qäñ Géta Feré, Gera Géta Webé, Mulu Géta Teku, Mulu Géta Gäbrä Maryam* [and] during the period of office of *Täklü Wäldä Rufa'él* [and] *Zär'e Yehun* as *ch'eqa(s)*. The witnesses are the *däbtära*.

(Cambridge Add. 1570, 264r.)

191. Cr.L.10. Abänér to Yohannes III.

1841/42.

In the Era of Marqos, during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä S'ähay Haylu* [and] *Liqä T'äbäbt Afä Wärq, Abéto Abänér* has given the 4 *gasha* [*rim* land of the Church] of Qwesqwam which Empress Mentewab gave to *Aläqa P'ant'äléwon*, to Emperor Yohannes [III]. The witnesses [are] the officers [and the *däbtära(s)* of] the church.

(B. L. Or. 776, 268v.)

192. Cr.L.11. Wälättä Sém to Mänän.

c. 1850.

Enaté Wälättä Sém has given her *rest* [land] at Maqwera [and] Melash Qwäyeñ to Empress Mänän. The guarantor [is] *Qäñ Géta Rämha*. [This *rest* land was given to her] during [the tenure of office of] *Qés As'é Gäbrä Maryam, Qäñ Géta Kassa, Gera Géta Gäbrä Maryam, Mulu Géta Kidanä Maryam, Mulu Géta Eshätu* [and] during the period of office of *Zär Yehun Wälättä Rufa'él* [and] *Wäyzäro Alt'ash* as *ch'eqa(s)* [and] *Täklü Wäldä Rufa'él* [and] *Wodo Engeda* as *mälkäñña(s)*. The witnesses [are] the *däbtära*.

(Cambridge Add. 1570, 267v.)

193. Cr.L.12. Metek to Sahlä Dengel.

1832-55.

During the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel, *Wäyzäro Metek* has sold 4 *meder* from the [*rim*] lands of [the Church of] *Qwer'attä Re'esu* to Emperor Sahlü. The guarantor [is] *Liqé As'equ*. Emperor Sahlä Dengel has given 3 *meder* at T'äf to her children.

(B. L. Or. 659, 239v.)

194. Cr.L.13. The *wäyzäro(s)* to Mänän.

1832-55.

In the Era of Matéwos, during the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel [and] during the period of office of *Aläqa* Gércsam as *Aläqa* [and] *Märi Géta* Engeda as *Märi Géta*, all the *Wäyzäro(s)*, after having consulted with each other, have given the office of *Gänta* for Walwaj, Gändäwa, Fuch'äna, Ch'üñch'oq, Dawa Medrä Barra [and] Dirra saying: "The office of *Gänta* had been [rightfully] yours since the former years. [And now,] May you celebrate Mass at [the Church of] Däbrä Berhan". They have given [the office of *gänta* [to her] in total agreement with a pain of an anathema against them saying: "Let it pass to the descendants of Empress Mänän". They have [also] said: "Let [the office of *ch'eqa* be for the *wäyzäro(s)*. Let the *qäñazmach qämäs* [and the tax of] *amora t'äbaqi*³⁸ be annulled". And [the payment] for [the celebration of] Mass [at the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé] for [keeping the office of] *gänta* is 1 *ch'an* of wheat [and] 10 [bars of] salt. So that this [arrangement] may not be violated, a proclamation was announced [and] a threat of excommunication [was also pronounced] whilst the Emperor, the *Abun* [and] the *Ech'ägé* came outside [and] the scholars and the *Azazh(es)* were standing. And [the clergy of] all the churches have pronounced an anathema.

(B. L. Or. 778, 2v.)

195. Cr.L.14. The *Däbtära(s)* of the Church Däbrä Berhan Sellasé to Mänän. 1832-55.

In the Era of Marqos, during the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel, during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akü Berhan* [and] *Liqü Mäzämran* Mesgad, the *däbtära* [of the Church or Däbrä Berhan Sellasé] have given 63 *meder* of Tegreans [and] the 30 *meder* of the Muslims at Wäyna [as *rim*] to Empress Mänän. The [payment for the] *sämon*³⁹ is 2 *ch'an* [of cereal]. So that this [arrangement] may not be violated, an anathema was pronounced by the *Abun* and the *Ech'ägé*.

³⁸ I.e., a tax exacted by Emperor Täklä Giyorgis to help prevent grain-eating birds at farm land.

³⁹ I.e., the celebration of Mass at the church during a specified period.

(B. L. Or. 777, 280v.)

196. Cr.L.15. Garri and Tämärt'a to Mänän.

1832-55.

In the Era of Yohannes, during the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel, during the period of office of *Aläqa* Wäldä Maryam as *aläqa*, *Märi Géta* S'éwa as *märi géta*, Kidanu Täklü and *Abba* Haylu as *em(s)*, Gäbrü Sellasé as *eqa bét*, Saqu'él Haylu and Käbté Wäldä Täklé as *mäch'äné(s)*, Garri and Tämärt'a, the children [of *Balambäras* Wäldä Sellasé], have sold *Balambäras* Wäldä Sellasé's *rim* [land] and the *bota* of the [Church of] Ledäta to Empress Mänän for 30 *ber*. The guarantor is Tämärt'a, his sister. The witnesses are the *däbtära* of the right [and] of the left.

(B. L. Or. 604, 125v.)

CHAPTER FIVE

LAND SALES

The numerous records of land sales in the Collections reveal the economic and social framework of the country. Crummey states that the total number of land sales in the British Library Collection is about 1,690.¹ In addition to this, a further 355 records of land sales are preserved in a manuscript at the Cambridge University Library.² According to the records marked with regnal periods, a land was sold during the reign of Emperor Iyasu I for as high as 1,000 *wäqét* and a gold ring³ and this was followed by another 2 *rim* land sales during the reign of Emperor Bäkafa.⁴ But during the reign of Emperor Iyasu II *rim* lands of the churches of Gondar started to flood the market on a massive scale and this tradition was continued right up to the reign of Emperor Téwodros. Besides *rim* lands, several *gult* and *rest* lands were also sold during this period.⁵

As already mentioned the records of the land sales give an insight into the economic and social and positions of people. At times, the records of land sales are furnished with detailed information about individuals, not only those who sold and bought land but also those who happened to be either guarantors or witnesses during the transactions. The documents even refer occasionally to the colour of the skin of people as an identifying factor and *qäyu* or the light-skinned one or *t'equru* or the dark-skinned one is added to the names. Thus, information, such as tributary rights, personal and ethnic labels, opens up a wide opportunity for historians not only to pinpoint individuals who were successful at

¹ Crummey (1978): P. 470.

² This number slightly exceeds the 350 transactions noted by Crummey; see Crummey (1978): p. 472.

³ Equivalent to an *alad* or half of a *wäqét*.

⁴ Crummey (1978): p. 474.

⁵ B. L. Or. 776, 3r. and B. L. Or. 777, 283v.

accumulating land, but also to identify their family ties, position and influence in society. Price movements and currency changes are also significant indicators of the economic condition of the country over nearly 150 years.

Although *gäzza*, or rarely *wajä* (bought), and *shät'ä* (sold) were the main verbs used in the transactions, at times *sät'ä* (gave), *täqäbälä* (received) and *wäsädä* (took) were also used instead of *shät'ä* in situations where a person was forced to give up land because of an owed payment. Generally, buyers, sellers and guarantors of land were named but there are instances where prices and sizes of land were not mentioned at all. However, pieces of lands were simply specified in terms of their tax assessment instead of their size. *Däbtära* Kebré, to give just one example, sold a *bota* with a tax of 2 *madega* of cereal to *Käntiba* Awsé for 2 *ber*⁶ and 10 bars of salt.⁷ A number of currencies were used during the period. The most common currency throughout the period was the *wäqét* and its fractions, i.e., *alad*, *drim* and *aqümät*, and it was combined with grain, salt⁸ or *ber*. Grain, which is measured in units of *ch'an*, *madega* and *däl*, was also used alone or in combination with salt as a medium of exchange in a few transactions. On the other hand, while bars of salt were used in several transactions as the sole indicator of price, a half bar of salt was used only once in a transaction when Sosna sold her house with land for 10 and a half bars of salt.⁹ The word *qersh*, of Arabic origin, also occurs in a few transactions.¹⁰ According to the Armenian jeweller Yohannes T'ovmacean, 25 *qersh* amounted to 1 *wäqét* in the 1760's in Gondar.¹¹ While towards the end of the reign of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon, however, *ber* was used only once, thereafter it became the most common currency in the country.¹² The *ber* was widely used during the reign of Emperor Gigar and thereafter

⁶ Maria Theresa Thaler.

⁷ B. L. Or. 604, 76v.

⁸ The value of bars of salt varied from week to week but 61 to 70 of them were exchanged for 1 *wäqét* in Gondar in the late Eighteenth Century; see B. L. Add. 16,200, 2r., 2v., 3v., etc.

⁹ B. L. Or. 776, 3v.

¹⁰ B. L. Or. 776, 10r., 12v., 14v., etc.

¹¹ Nersessian and Pankhurst (1986): p. 622.

¹² B. L. Or. 745, 224r.

either alone or in combination with the *wäqét*, cereal or salt. Thus, I have not been able to find the entry to which Crummey refers when he noted that the first recorded sale in *ber* was during the reign of Emperor Yonas.¹³

The records of land sales in the Collections indicate that land was a saleable commodity in this society at least from the early Eighteenth Century. Almost all of the manuscripts preserving such records come from the churches in or around Gondar. The present day 44 churches of Gondar were built during or after the reign of Emperor Fasilädäs, who commissioned the Church of Mädhane Aläm, the first church of the city. Thus, it is understandable that lands given to the churches of Gondar, which were then allotted to people who served in the churches in the form of *rim*, subsequently started to be offered for sale in great numbers either by the holders of the *rim* lands or after their decease by their wives or by their children and grandchildren in the middle of the Eighteenth Century.

The *rim* lands were initially given to individuals in the form of *meder* and *bota* and were sold either in full or in portions. The price of the *meder* obviously varied from region to region due to the quality and size of the land. However, it is important to note that a half *gasha rim* land of the Church of Däbrä S'ähay Qwesqwam was sold for as low as 20 bars of salt and another *bota* for 2 bars of salt.¹⁴ Similarly, another 1 *gasha* of *rim* land of the same church was sold for an *alad*, which is equivalent to 35 bars of salt.¹⁵ Besides *rim* lands, there are records which prove the sale of *gult* and *rest* lands during the reign of Emperor Iyasu II. The *rest* lands of *Bäjerond Täcko* were sold (L.S.a.2.) by Chär Egzér and Gäbrél to Amha and Rahél for 4 *wäqét* and 1 *drim*. According to the document, the sellers of the *rest* land also acted as guarantors. Likewise, the *gult* land of *Wäyzäro Wälättä S'eyon* at *Käriwa* was sold (L.S.a.7.) to kellu Alet'ash for 5 *wäqét*. However, unlike the

¹³ See Crummey (1978): p. 476.

¹⁴ B. L. Or. 776, 7r. and B. L. Or. 776, 12r.

¹⁵ B. L. Or. 776, 3r.

sale of the *rest* land of *Bäjerond* Täcko, the sale of this *gult* land did not have a guarantor. *Wäyzäro* Wälättä S'eyon simply managed to sell the *gult* land, pronouncing an oath: "May the Emperor die".

Guarantors and witnesses were the essential requirements during the transactions of land sales. The witnesses were usually the officers and the *däbtära(s)* of a church who numbered up to 12¹⁶ and 180¹⁷ respectively. At times the buyer of a land might also require an additional person to act as a surety to a guarantor. There is an occasion when a guarantor, for example, refused to come forward when a land was reclaimed by another person and the initial buyer was forced to buy the same land again. *Aläqa* Semrät acted as a guarantor when Wäsän Gäbrä Täklé bought a *bota* from Haylu Mert'it for 23 *ber*.¹⁸ *Aläqa* Semrät, however, refused to be drawn into the dispute when the same *bota* was claimed by a certain Arfasged Sahlu, and Wäsän Gäbrä Täklé was forced to buy (L.S.a.19.) it again for 20 and a half *ber*. The seller of a *rim* land could also give another unsold *rim* land as a guarantee during a transaction. *Wäyzäro* Nudit, for instance, gave her *rim* land at Mahin to Wälättä Heywät as a guarantee when she sold *Azazh* Däné's 1 *gasha* of *rim* land at Dazbihon to Wälättä Heywät.¹⁹

The records indicate that some *bota* were sold in tiny portions and measurement in *kend* (cubit) and *senzer* (span) was applied during several transactions.²⁰ Similarly, the full *rim meder* was also sold in fractions. Land was sold for a wide variety of reasons. People who borrowed money at an excessive rate of interest found themselves unable to pay it back and were eventually forced to sell their *rim* lands.²¹ At times, children also sold *rim* lands simply to pay the debts of their fathers.²² Indeed, the attachment of families to

¹⁶ 132(P.L.c.3.).

¹⁷ Cambridge Add. 1570, 261r.

¹⁸ Cambridge Add. 1570, 266r.

¹⁹ B. L. Or. 776, 274r.

²⁰ A *kend* is equivalent to 50 c.m.

²¹ B. L. Or. 745, 2r. and B. L. Or. 777, 17r.

²² B. L. Or. 644, 4r. and B. L. Or. 776, 3r.

the ownership of parents' *rim* lands is a curious one. *Rim* lands might be sold for different reasons, but what is so noticeable in the records is children's success in buying them back into the family.²³ *Rim* lands were also readily sold either to a wife (L.S.a.4..) or a son.²⁴

Besides individuals, churches were also involved in selling *rim* lands as well as houses given to them by the faithful.²⁵ According to the records, several pieces of land were given to churches by individuals for specific reasons. The most common request by the faithful was that a burial and a periodic prayer be said in a church upon their death. The fact that the sellers of such lands happened to be either the *däbtära(s)* and the officers of a church indicates that land was given to churches on separate basis. However, the word *däbru*, or the church, was used twice (L.S.b.6 and L.S.b.7.) to indicate the sale of land by both the officers and the *däbtära(s)* of the Church of Däbrä S'ähay Qwesqwam. Similarly, there was an occasion when land given to the Church of *Qeddus Rufa'él* by *Géta Léwi* was sold (L.S.b.5.) by the officers and the *däbtära(s)* of the church for an *alad* and the proceeds of this sale were used for repair of the roof of the church. The officers of the same church also sold (L.S.b.4.) *Géta Qirqos'* land to *Qäñ Géta As'equ* for an *alad* for the repair of the roof of the church. Moreover, there is a document which states that the *däbtära(s)* of the Church of Täklä Haymanot sold (L.S.b.14.) *Abba Tälmid's rim* to *Aläqa Wäronägoda* for 4 *ber* in order to help repair the same church. Finally, most of the land sales by the churches required male guarantors and only on one occasion, a certain lady, named *Wäyzäro Mehreka*, acted as a guarantor (L.S.b.4.) for the *däbtära* of the Church of *Rufa'él*. According to other records of land sales (L.S.b.1. and L.S.b.6.) by the Churches of *As'as'amé Mika'él* and *Däbrä S'ähay Qwesqwam*, guarantors were not mentioned but the officers and the *däbtära(s)* were required to pronounce an oath: "Let the Emperor die", so that the church may not try to claim it back.

²³ B. L. Or. 776, 3r. and B. L. Or. 777, 5v.

²⁴ B. L. Or. 604, 123r.

²⁵ B. L. Or. 776, 1v., B. L. Or. 778, 4v and 6r.

197. L.S.a.1. Wälättä Abib to Wälättä Kidan.

c. 1754.

During the reign of Emperor Iyasu [II], during the period of office of *Mäl'akä Berhanat* Wäldä Hawaryat as *aläqa*, during the tenure of office of *Liqä Mäzämran* Gorgoryos, *Re'esä Däbr* Mänkero Téwodros, *Qäñ Géta* Arkä Rädīs, *Gera Géta* Abisa, *Bét T'äbaqi géta(s)*²⁶ Newayä Mika'él [and] Wäldä Gäbr'él, the *Em(s)* Säyfu, Anqäs'é, Meherka, Deho [and] Wäldä Iyäsus, the *Mäch'äné(s)* Nabuté [and] Wäldä Dengel, the *Eqa Bét* Yägz[h]ér Käbt, *Wäyzäro* Wälättä Abib, the daughter of *[E]mäbét* Säblé, has sold Emperor Täklä Haymanot [I]'s *rim* [of the Church] of Däbrä Berhan, which he gave to his son *[A]béto* Nawed, which *Abéto* Nawed [also] gave to his mother *[E]mäbét* Säblé, to *Wäyzäro* Wälättä Kidan for 10 *wäqét*. The guarantor [is] *Abéto* Tälafinos. The *däbtära(s)* also know [about this].

(B. L. Or. 777, 286v.)

198. L.S.a.2. Chär Egzér and Gäbrél to Amha and Rahél.

1730-55.

During the reign of our King Adyam Sägäd Iyasu [II], Chär Egzér and Gäbré [are] the sellers of the *rest* lands of *Bäjerond* Täcko at *[A]bora* and *Däwaro* [in] *Fänt'är*, which they received as *rest* land, for 4 *wäqét* and [erasure] *drim*. The guarantor[s are] themselves and the buyers who received [ownership of the *rest* lands are] Amha and Rahél. The witnesses [are] *Mägabi* Arkä Sellus, *S'äbat* Wäldä Yohannes, *Liqé* Täklä Haymanot, *Bäjerond* Bes'a Gérgis [and] *Bäjerond* Éraqelis.

(B. L. Or. 712, 107v.)

199. L.S.a.3. Webit to Maryamawit.

1769-77.

In the Era of Matéwos, during the reign of Emperor Täklä Haymanot [II], during the second tenure of office of *Mäl'akä Berhanat* Zéna [and] during [the tenure of office of] *Liqé Mäzämran* Wäldä Dengel, *Re'esä Däbr* Wäldä Mika'él, *Qäñ Géta* Wäldä Gäbr'él, *Gera Géta* Dängola, the *Bét T'äbaqi Géta(s)* Asrat and Meherka, the *Mäch'äné(s)* Wäldä

²⁶ Ms. *Bét T'äbaqi Aläqa(s)*.

Rufa'él [and] Zäfäru, the *Em(s) Géta* Gasho, Mäsawer, *Qés Wäldä Mika'él*, *Abba Wäldä Iyäsus* [and] *T'eran T'äbaqi* Nabuté, *Wäyzäro* Maryamawit bought [the half *rim*], which *Wäyzäro* Webit bought from Shämla,²⁷ for 6 *wäqét* [to be] for her son *Shaläqa* Täskaro. The half *rim* [used to belong to] her father. The *däbtära(s)* know [of the sale of this *rim* land].

(B. L. Or. 777, 287v.)

200. L.S.a.4. Finhas to Wälättä Mika'él. c. 1780.

Aläqa Finhas²⁸ has sold his *rim*, which he bought from Säbän for 3 *wäqét* and an *alad*, and the house, which he bought from *Abba* Kidanu for 4 *wäqét*, to his wife Wälättä Mika'él. The witnesses [are] the [officers and *däbtära(s)* of the Churches of] the Se'el Bét, *Abunä* Täklä Haymanot [and] Hamärä Noh.

(B. L. Or. 745, 223r.)

201. L.S.a.5. Bätru to Gäbru. Dated 1782.

In the Era of Marqos, when Emperor Täklä Giyorgis reigned for 3 years, *Belatta* Bätru²⁹ has sold Hamälmal's³⁰ *rim* of [the Church of] Hamärä Noh, which he bought, to *Liqé* Gäbru, the son of *Liqé* Täklä Haymanot, for 7 *wäqét* and 7 *drim*. The guarantor is Wasé, the son of *Abba* Seno. [This *rim* land was sold] during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä Sälam* Yabo Barya. The witnesses [are] *Mämhré* Abreham, *Abba* S'ähayä Ledda [and] the *däbtära(s)*.

(B. L. Or. 508, 287r.)

²⁷ She sold the *rim* to *Wäyzäro* Webit for 8 *wäqét* during the reign of Emperor Iyo'as II; see B. L. Or. 777, 287v.

²⁸ He bought *Abba* Kidanu's house for 4 *wäqét* and the guarantor was Haymät; see B. L. Or. 745, 223r.

²⁹ In the Era of Luqas, in T'e'qmet (9th October - 7th November 1770), *Blatten Géta* Bätru bought the same *rim* from the children of Qeddest Hanna (i.e., Enqulal, Wälättä Mika'él and Afomya) for 7 *wäqét* and 7 *drim* during the reign of Emperor Susenyos II (i.e., 1770).

³⁰ *Emäbét* Hamälmal gave the same *rim* land to her daughter Qeddest Hanna as a dowry; see B. L. Or. 508, 283r.

202. L.S.a.6. Wäldä Maryam to Kidanä Maryam. 1779-1800.

In the Era of Matéwos, during the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis, during the period of office of *Aläqa* Sälamu as *aläqa*, Wäldä Maryam has sold half of the *rim*, which Azazh Gälawdéwos³¹ bought from *Shaläqa* Zäfät'ari, to *Re'esä Däbr* Kidanä Maryam. The guarantor [is] Därsä Wänd. The witnesses [are the] *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 549, 1v.)

203. L.S.a.7. Wälättä S'eyon to kellu Alet'ash. c. 1792.

In the Era of Matéwos, during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä S'ähay* Engeda [and] *Liqa T'äbäbt* Haylu, Wäyzäro Wälättä S'eyon has sold her *gult* land [at] Käräwa, which she held by celebrating Mass [at the Church of Däbrä S'ähay] Qwesqwam, to kellu Alet'ash for 5 wäqét, saying [an oath]: "May the Emperor die". The witnesses [are] *Qäñ Géta* Feqru, *Gera Géta* Täklä Haymanot, *Re'esä Däbr* Kenfu, *Bét T'äbaqi Géta(s)* Wäldä Mika'él and Abésélom, the *Eqa Bét Mämré* Wäldä Kiros and the *däbtära(s)*.also know [about this].

(B. L. Or. 776, 3v.)

204. L.S.a.8. Mädalamin to Färkälisa Goshu. 1796/97.

In the Era of Matéwos (1796/97), during the reign of Emperor Sälonon [III], during the tenure of office of *Aläqa* Abo Barya, *Liqa Mäzämran* Kenfu, *Re'esä Däbr* Gwalé, *Qäñ Géta* Mär'awi, *Gera Géta* Haylu, *Bét T'äbaqi Géta(s)* Yäsellasé Barya, *Re'esä Däbr* Kidanu, *T'eran T'äbaqi Abba* Enqu, the *Müch'üné(s)* Wärqé [and] Gäbrä Kidan, *Hajji Mädalamin*³²

³¹ He bought the *rim* from *Shaläqa* Zäfät'ari for 9 wäqét during the reign of Emperor Iyasu III; see B. L. Or. 549, 1r. See also another document (B. L. Or. 549, 144r.) where the Azazh is reported to have bought the same *rim* land and other *rim* lands from five other individuals for a total of 55 wäqét. The *Shaläqa* is, however, mentioned as Zäfät'ari.

³² He bought Sadéwa's *rim* land from Zäwäldu, Hélla and Sahlu for 6 wäqét during the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis and was required to provide the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé with 150 wäqét of incense; see B. L. Or. 777, 282v. The 7 *meder rim* land was bought by [*Abéto*] Hélla, Zäwäldu and Sahlu directly from the seven children of Sadéwa (Sädiq, Ahmääd, Abraham, Enjjori, Muktar, Ahmääd and Ankollo) for 8 wäqét .during the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis; see B. L. Or. 777, 13r.

has sold the incense trader's full *rim* to Färkälisa Goshu for 3 *wäqét*. The guarantor is Fasil Hélla. The witnesses are the *däbtära*. They finalized [the transaction in front of] *Liqé* Haylu [and] *Liqé* Wäldä Dengel. The rest of the scholars also know [about this].

(B. L. Or. 777, 7v.)

205. L.S.a.9. Abraham and Kät'ib to Gérsam and Helqät. 1798/99.

In the Era of Luqas (1798/99), during the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis, during the tenure of office of *Aläqa* Yäsellasé Barya [and] *Liqä Mäzämran* Gwalé, Abraham sold half of the incense trader's *rim* at Dablu to Gérsam for 2 *wäqét* and Kät'ib sold the [other] half [of the *rim*] to Helqät for 2 *wäqét*.³³ The guarantor for Kät'ib [is] Abraham [and] for Abraham [is] Kät'ib.

(B. L. Or. 777, 9v.)

206. L.S.a.10. Säbän and Mammit to Kesadu. 1779-1800.

In the Era of Luqas, during the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis, during the tenure of office of *Mül'akä Berhanat Hirut*, 7 *wäqét* and 6 *drim* [is] for Säbän [and] 7 *wäqét* and [6] *drim* [is] for Mammit - they have sold the *rim* of their mother [and] the *rest* of their father to *Shaläqa* Kesadu.³⁴ Even if they have sold it, they will, however, continue to use it until they die. So that this [arrangement] may not be violated, an anathema was pronounced by the word of the *Abun*.

(B. L. Or. 777, 283v.)

³³ This was the second full *rim* land at Ablo (sic) originally held by Sadéwa, the incense trader. This *rim* land was also sold by the seven children of Sadéwa to *Abéto* Na'od, the Secretary of Empress Etémanch, for 7 *wäqét* during the reign of Emperor Täklä Haymanot II (1769-77); see B. L. Or. 777, 287r. The same *rim* of 7 *meder* at Dablu was sold to *Abéto* Hélla, Zäwäldu and Sahlu by *Abéto* Na'od for 7 *wäqét* and an *alad* during the reign of Emperor Sälonon II in 1778/79; see B. L. Or. 777, 13r. The *rim* land was, however, bought back by Kät'ib from [*Abéto*] Hélla, Sahlu and Zäwäldu for 6 *wäqét* during the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis; see B. L. Or. 777, 5v.

³⁴ According to another document, *Shaläqa* Kesadu disputed with *Abéto* Kenfu regarding ownership of these lands which the former bought for 15 *wäqét* and 2 *drim*. Later on, however, *Abéto* Kenfu agreed to withdraw his accusation under the adjudication of *Aqabé Sā'at* Käbtü; see B. L. Or. 529, 197r.

207. L.S.a.11. Ani Terengo to Fänta.

1801-18.

In the Era of Matéwos, during the reign of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon, during the tenure of office of *Aläqa* Abreham, Ani Terengo, the daughter [of Siddi Yohannes], has sold the full *rim* of Adära,³⁵ the blind, which Siddi Yohannes³⁶ bought from Rahél, to *Abba* Fänta for 2 *wäqét* and 2 *drim*. The guarantor is *Märi Géta* Asabu. The witnesses [are] *Qäñ Géta* Mehrätu, *Gera Géta* Täklü, the *Bét T'äbaqi Géta(s) Géta* Léwi and *Abba* Kenfu, the *Em(s)* *Abba* Wäldä Sem'on and S'ädalü, *Müch'äné* T'ebäbu, the *Eqa Bét Abba* Kenfu and the rest of the *däbtära* [also] know [about this]. The scholars are *Liqé* Hirut, *Liqé* Wäldä Dengel, *Azazh* S'ämru [and] *Aqabé Sä'at* Gäbru.

(B. L. Or. 799, 1r.)

208. L.S.a.12. Terengo to Abreham.

1801-18.

In the Era of Marqos, during the reign of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon, during the tenure of office of *Aläqa* Wäldä Gäbr'él, *Wäyzäro* Terengo, the daughter [of *Wäyzäro* Webit], has sold Buy Zäwäld's full *rim* of the *Märi [Géta]*, which *Azazh* Tekku³⁷ bought [and] which was [again] bought by *Wäyzäro* Webit,³⁸ to *Aläqa* Abreham³⁹ for 2 *wäqét*. The guarantor is *Märi Géta* Asabu [and] the surity is *Liqé* Hirut. The witnesses [are] *Qäñ Géta* Mehrätu, *Gera Géta* Täklü, *Bét T'äbaqi Géta(s) Géta* Léwi and *Abba* Kenfu, the *Em(s)* *Abba* La'eku [and] S'ädalü, *Müch'äné* T'ebäbu [and] the rest [of the witnesses] are the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 799, 1r.)

³⁵ He sold his *rim* land to Nes'a Dengel for 6 *wäqét* during the reign of Emperor Iyasu II; see B. L. Or. 799, 218v.

³⁶ He bought the full *rim* land from Rahél, the mother of Nes'a Dengel, for 5 *wäqét*. see B. L. Or. 799, 219r.

³⁷ He bought the *rim* with the *bota* from Hirut, the daughter of Buy Zäwäld, Enqulal, the nephew of Buy Zäwäld, and Daddi, the child of Enqulal, for 8 *wäqét* during the reign of Emperor Iyo'as I; see B. L. Or. 799, 218r.

³⁸ In 1768, *Wäyzäro* Webit, the daughter of *Wäyzäro* Wälättä Täklä Haymanot and wife of Wärañña Fasil, bought the *rim* land and the *bota* with a house for 14 *wäqét* from *Blattén Géta* Tekku.

³⁹ It seems that the *Aläqa* bought only the full *rim meder* without the *bota* on which a house was built. A copy of this document is also preserved in the same manuscript (B. L. Or. 799, 217r.). Moreover, there is a document which records that 1 *meder* of the same *rim* was sold by Wäldä Sellasé, a brother of *Aläqa* Abreham, to As'ädé for 4 *ber* during the reign of Emperor Iyasu IV (1830-32); see B. L. Or. 799, 212v.

209. L.S.a.13. Terengo to Abreham.

1801-18.

In the Era of Yohannes, during the reign of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon, during the period of office of *Aläqa* Wäldä Gübr'él as *aläqa* [and] Léwi Haylu as *märi géta*, *Aläqa* Abreham bought the *Bét T'äbaqi* Dug Abuqir's [*rim*],⁴⁰ which *Wäyzäro* Webit⁴¹ bought from *Azazh* Tekku, from *Wäyzäro* Terengo for 2 *wäqét* and 1 *drim*. The guarantor [is] *Qäñ Géta* Mehrätu. The surity is *Liqé* Hirut. The witnesses [are] the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 799, 5v.)

210. L.S.a.14. Weshin to Aychih.

1821-30.

In the Era of Luqas, during the reign of Emperor Gigar, during the period of *Aläqa* Wakka as *aläqa*, *Märi Géta* S'éwa as *märi géta*, *Blatta* Aychih bought *Géta* Fesha's⁴² *rim*, the 2 *meder* which *Liqé* Wäldä Dengel⁴³ gave to Weshin, for 5 *ber*. The seller [of the *rim* is] *Wäyzäro* Weshin. The guarantor [is] *Mari Géta* S'éwa Rufa'él. The witnesses [are] *Qäñ Géta* T'ebäbu, *Gera Géta* Engeda, *Bét T'äbaqi Géta(s)* Mahs'äntu and Wäldä Täklé and the rest of the *däbtära* [also] know [about this].

(B. L. Or. 799, 157v.)

⁴⁰ In 1761, the *rim* was sold by *Wäyzäro* Wäläntä Sellasé, the wife of *Dug* Abuqir, to *Blattén Géta* Tekku for 8 *wäqét* and 8 *drim* and the guarantors were her daughters, *Wäyzäro* Héréni and *Wäyzäro* Tekku; See B. L. Or. 799, 218r.

⁴¹ In 1768, she bought the *rim* from *Blattén Géta* Tekku for 9 *wäqét*. Here, it is interesting to note that the guarantor was still *Wäyzäro* Tekku who was also referred to as the wife of *Azazh* Wäld Mika'él; see B. L. Or. 799, 215r.

⁴² He bought the *rim* at Fent'ero and Tänkäl from *Abba* Atené for 4 *wäqét* during the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis; B. L. Or. 799, 2v. *Abba* Atené bought the *rim* from *Aqabi* (i.e., *Eqa bét*) Amdä Mika'él for 3 *wäqét* and 1 *drim*; see B. L. Or. 799, 215v.

⁴³ He received the *rim* from *Géta* Fescha during the reign of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon; see B. L. Or. 799, 1v.

211. L.S.a.15. Wäldä Ab and Zéna to Akilas Käbté.

1821-30.

In the Era of Yohannes, during the period of office of *Aläqa* Kidanu as *qés häs'é*, during the reign of Emperor Gigar, *Aläqa* Wäldä Ab⁴⁴ sold [the *rim*], which he bought from Akilas Käbté for 1 *wäqét*, 6 *drim* [and] 1 *Aqämät*, back to him at the same price. The witnesses are the *däbtära*. And *Aläqa* Zéna, [too] sold [the *rim*], which he bought from Akilas for 5 *wäqét* and an *alad*, back to Akilas Käbté for 1 *wäqét*. The witnesses are the *däbtära*.

(B.L. Or. 745, 5r.)

212. L.S.a.16. Mert'it and Goshu to Sänaet.

c. 1835.

Emäbét Wäyzäro Sänaet⁴⁵ bought [the following *bota(s)*] from the children of *Däjazmach* Haylu - from *Wäyzäro* Mert'it⁴⁶ for 2 *wäqét* [and] from *Ato* Gofu for an *alad* . [The measure of the land she bought] for 2 *wäqét* [is] 40 [*kend*] in width [and] 80 [*kend*] in length [and the other land bought] for an *alad* [is] 20 [*kend*] in width [and] 40 [*kend*] in length. The guarantor for two [of them] is *Aläqa* Gäbru. *Wäyzäro* Mert'it has agreed to keep the interests of the children. [These *bota(s)* were sold] during the period of office of *Aläqa* Zéna as *aläqa* [and] during [the tenure of office of] *Liqä Kahnat* Wäldä Amlak, *Qäñ Géta* Gäbrä Mädhen, *Gera Géta* Gäbrä Heywät, *Mulu Géta* Semerät, *Mulu Géta* Wäldä Gäbr'él [and] during the period of office of *A[bé]to* As'equ and *A[bé]to* Zäryehun as *ch'eqa(s)* [and] *Mulu Géta* Wäldä Mika'él as *mälkäñña*. The witnesses [are] the *däbtära*. And *Ato* Goshu has said: " I have received [the gold]".

(Cambridge Add. 1570, 261r.)

⁴⁴ In 1797, *Aläqa* Wäldä Ab bought *Abba* Arqadéwos' half *rim* and a *bota* to be used "for building a house" for 1 *wäqét*, 6 *drim* and 1 *aqämät*; see B. L. Or. 745, 5r.

⁴⁵ It is possible that she is the same woman mentioned in the letters of Emperor Tēwodros as the mother of *Wäyzäro* Yätämāñu; see B. L. Or. 829*, ff. 27r 32v. See also Haile Gabriel Dagne (1963): p. 115.

⁴⁶ She also sold a *bota* measuring 20 *kend* in width and 40 *kend* in length to *Wäyzäro* Sänaet for an *alad*; see Cambridge Add. 1570, 261r.

213. L.S.a.17. Ehetä Giyorgis and Wäldä Eséy to Yätämäñu. c. 1835.

Wäyzäro Yätämäñu bought a *bota* from Ehetä Giyorgis and Abba Wäldä Eséy for 5 *ber*. The guarantor [is] *Gera Géta* Gäbrä Heywät. [She bought this *bota*] during [the tenure of office of] *Aläqa Zéna*, *Liqé Kahnat* Bibäla, *Qäñ Géta* Gäbrä Mädhén, *Mulu Géta* Semrät, *Mulu Géta* Wäldä Gäbr'él, *Abéto* As'equ [and] *Abéto* Zäryehun. The witnesses [are] the *däbtära*.

(Cambridge Add. 1570, 261r.)

214. L.S.a.18. Gäbrä Kidan to Gonbäl S'ädalu 1841.

In the Era of Marqos (1841), during the reign of Emperor Yohannes [III], during the period of office of *Aläqa* Täklü as *aläqa*, *Liqä Müzämran* Gäbrä Kidan, the son [of Nargé Gäbru] sold the *rim*⁴⁷ at Qebra'él, which his father Nargé Gäbru⁴⁸ bought from Sahlu, to Gonbäl S'ädalu for 2 *ber* and 7 [bars of] salt. The garantor [is] *Aläqa* Gäbrä Maryam. The witnesses [are] *Mäl'akä Gänät* Wäldä Gigar, *Liqä Müzämran* Haylu, *Qäñ Géta* S'egé, *Gera Géta* Engeda Wärq, *Bét T'übaqi Géta* Gäbrä Arägawi, the *Müch'äné* Gäbrä Giyorgis, The *Eqä Bét Mämheré* Asbé and the *däbtära(s)*.

(B. L. Or. 778, 9v)

⁴⁷ This *rim* is described as " the *rim* of the *märi* [*géta*] " and is a portion of a full *rim* at Bälläsa and Wät'ämb which Azazh Bulad bought from *Mäl'akä Gänät* Wäldä Yohannes. The same *rim* was, however, sold by Haylu, the son of Azazh Bulad, for 2 *wäqét* and 7 *drim* to Asbu during the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis. A portion of the same *rim* [at Qebra'él] which Asbu bought from Haylu was given to Sahlu by his mother so that "she may provide her with food [and also] provide a commemoration service for her [after she died]"; see B. L. Or. 778, 4r and 5v.

⁴⁸ He bought the 3 *meder* and 1 *bota* at Qebra'él from Sahlu for an *alad* and 5 bars of salt during the reign of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon. Sahlu received the *rim* from the mother of Asbu as a bequest after she provided food to Asbu's mother when she was alive and her commemoration service after her death; see B. L. Or. 778, 4r.

215. L.S.a.19. Arfasged Sahu to Wäsän Gäbrä Täklé. c. 1850.

Wäsän Gäbrä Täklé⁴⁹ bought the *bota*, which he had previously bought from Haylu Mert'it, from Arfasged for 20 and a half *ber* as it was held by Arfasged Sahu and the guarantor refused to come forward [to support his claim]. The guarantor [is] Wälta Neway. [This *bota* was sold] during [the tenure of office of] *Aläqa Fänta*, *Qés As'é Gäbrä Maryam*, *Qēñ Géta Kassa*, *Gera Géta Gäbrä Maryam*, *Mulu Géta Kidanä Maryam*, *Mulu Géta Eshātu* [and] during the period of office of Zäryehun Wälättä Rufa'él [and] Wäyzäro Alt'ash as *ch'eqa(s)* [and] Wodo Engeda as *mälkäñña*. The witnesses [are] the *däbtära*.

(Cambridge Add. 1570, 266v.)

216. L.S.a.20. Qät'äro to T'aher. c. 1850.

Wäyzäro Qät'äro⁵⁰ sold the *bota*, which she bought from Wäsän Gäbrä Täklé,⁵¹ to *Däjazmach T'aher* for 6 *wäqét*. The guarantor [is] *Liqä Kahnat Wäldä Gäbr'él*. [This *bota* was sold] during [the tenure of office of] *Aläqa Fänta* [and] during the period of office of *Qés As'é Gäbrä Maryam* as *gäbüz* [and] during [the tenure of office of] *Qän Géta Kassa*, *Gera Géta Gäbrä Maryam*, *Mulu Géta Kidanä Maryam*, *Mulu Géta Eshātu* [and] during the period of office of Zäryehun Wälättä Rufa'él [and] Wäyzäro Alt'ash as *ch'eqa(s)* [and] Wodo Engeda as *mälkäñña*. The witnesses [are] the *däbtära*.

(Cambridge Add. 1570, 266v.)

217. L.S.a.21. Täklé to Biwät'a. c. 1850.

Ato Biwät'a bought the share of Täklé's, the daughter of *Däbtära Wäldä Rufa'él*, [*bota*, which is] 27 [*kend*] in width [and] 8 *kend* and a span in length for 1 *ber* and 20 [bars of] salt. The guarantor is Wälättä Heywät Gäbrä Maryam. [He bought this *bota*] during [the

⁴⁹ He bought the *bota* from Haylu Mert'it for 23 *ber* and the guarantor was *Aläqa Semrät*; see Cambridge Add. 1570, 266r.

⁵⁰ She bought the *bota* from Wäsän Gäbrä Täklé for 8 *wäqét*; see Cambridge Add. 1570, 266r.

⁵¹ He bought the *bota* from Wäyzäro Kinna for 9 *ber*; see Cambridge Add. 1570, 263r.

tenure of office of] *Aläqa Fänta* [and] during the period of office of *Qés As'é Gäbrä Maryam* as *gäbüz* [and during the tenure of office of] *Qäñ Géta Kassa, Gera Géta Gäbrä Maryam, Mulu Géta Eshätu, Mulu Géta Kidanä Maryam* [and] during the period of office of *Wäyzäro Alt'ash* [and] *Zäryehun Wälättä Rufa'él* as *ch'eqa(s)* [and] *Woddo Engeda* as *mälkäña*. The witnesses [are] the *däbtära*.

(Cambridge Add. 1570, 266v.)

218. L.S.a.22. Kassayä Täcklu to Wädajo. c. 1850.

Kassayé Täcklu⁵² sold the *bota*, which he bought from Adgo Gäbru,⁵³ to *Bala[m]baras Wädajo* for 9 *ber*. The guarantor [is] Adgäh Näway. [The *bota* was sold] during [the tenure of office of] *Aläqa Fänta* [and] during the tenure of office of *Qés As'é Gäbrä Maryam* as *gäbüz* [and] during [the tenure of office of] *Qäñ Géta Kassa, Gera Géta Gäbrä Maryam, Mulu Géta Eshätu* [and] during the period of office of *Zäryehun Wälättä Rufa'él* [and] *Wäyzäro Alt'ash* as *ch'eqa(s)* [and] during the period of office of *Wodo Engeda* as *mälkäña*. The witnesses [are] all the *däbtära*.

(Cambridge Add. 1570, 267r.)

219. L.S.a.23. Wäldä Giyorgis to Seyum. c. 1850.

Däjazmach Seyum has bought the *bota*, which *Agafari Wäldä Giyorgis*⁵⁴ bought from *Wahdé Sählu*,⁵⁵ for 8 *wäqét* and 3 *ber*. The guarantor [is] *Liqä Kahnat Wäldä Gäbr'él*. [The *bota* was bought] during [the tenure of office of] *Aläqa Fänta, Qés As'é Gäbrä Maryam, Qäñ Géta Kassa, Gera Géta Gäbrä Maryam, Mulu Géta Eshätu, Melu Géta Kidanä Maryam* [and] during the period of office of *Wäyzäro Alt'ash* [and] *Zäryehun*

⁵² He bought the *bota* from Adgo Gäbru for 9 *ber*; see Cambridge Add. 1570, 266v.

⁵³ He bought the *bota* from Kälitu, the daughter of Babbo Bäriho for 6 *ber*; Cambridge Add. 1570, 266r.

⁵⁴ He bought the *bota* from Wahdé Sählu for 55 *ber*; see Cambridge Add. 1570, 267r.

⁵⁵ He bought the *bota* from *Wäyzäro Wälättä Sellasé*; see Cambridge Add. 1570, 267r.

Wälättä Rufa'él as *ch'eqa(s)* [and] Täcklu Wäldä Rufa'él [and] Wodo Engeda as *mälkäñña(s)*. The witnesses [are] the *däbtära*.

(Cambridge Add. 1570, 267v.)

220. L.S.a.24. Asaf S'ädal to S'ädal Wäldä Kidan. c. 1850.

S'ädal Wäldä Kidan bought [land at] At'äna Bär from Asaf S'ädal for 5 *madega* of cereal. The guarantor [is] *Däbtära* Wäldä Kéfa. [He bought the land] during [the tenure of office of] *Aläqa* Fänta, *Qés* As'é Gäbrä Maryam, *Qäñ Géta* Kassa, *Gera Géta* Gäbrä Maryam, *Mulu Géta* Eshäitu, *Mulu Géta* Kidanä Maryam [and] during the period of office of *Wäyzäro* Alt'ash [and] Zäryehun Wälättä Rufa'él as *ch'eqa(s)* [and] Täcklu Wäldä Rufa'él [and] Wodo Engeda as *mälkäñña(s)*. The witnesses [are] the *däbtära*.

(Cambridge Add. 1570, 267v.)

221. L.S.a.25. S'ädal Alt'ash to Adgäh, Lénch'a, Tekku etc. 1832-55.

In the Era of Matéwos, during the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel, during the period of office of *Aläqa* As'equ as *aläqa*, *Mäiri Gäta* S'éwa as *mäiri géta*, *Qäñ géta* T'ebäbu as *qäñ géta*, *Gera Géta* Engeda as *gera géta* [and] during [the tenure of office of] *Bét T'äbaqi Géta(s)* Haylu and Wäldä Sellasé, *Em(s) Mämheré* S'ärs'u and Wäldä Maryam [and] *Mäch'äné* Yaläw Ayqär, S'ädal Alt'ash sold [the *rim* land] at At'äfo, which *Liqé* Gäbru bought from *A[bé]to* Aklilu's⁵⁶ child⁵⁷ for 5 *wäqét*, to *Blatta* Adgäh, Lénch'a, Tekku [and] Denqé for 12 *ber*. As to the [*meder(s)*] at Mägäch'u - Feteg and her son, Gäbru, bought one each. The guarantor [is] Ken'fu Engeda. The witnesses [are] the *däbtära*. *Liqé* Hirut [also knows about this].

⁵⁶ *Abéto* Aklilu bought the *rim* from Wäldä Sellasé, the son of Arsé Näch'o, and from *Wäyzäro* Gondärit, the daughter of *Abéto* Bes'a Gérgis, for 9 *wäqét* and an *alad* during the reign of Emperor Iyo'as I; see B. L. Or. 799, 219r.

⁵⁷ *Wäyzäro* Teshal, the daughter of *Abéto* Aklilu, sold the full *rim*, which her father bought from Wäldä Sellasé and *Wäyzäro* Gondärit to *Liqé* Gäbru for 5 *wäqét* during the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis; see B. L. Or. 799, 4v.

(B. L. Or. 799, 7r.)

222. L.S.a.26. Wädaju Sahlé to Haylu. 1832-55.

In the Era of Matéwos, during the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel, during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä Berhanat Fänta*, *Liqä Mäzümran Dästa*, *Qäñ Géta Därso Aychéw* [and] *Gera Géta Feseha*, Wädaju Sahlé sold the 5 *meder* [and] 1 *bota*, which he bought from Wehib,⁵⁸ the son of Sel'angäto Kenfu, for 9 *ber* with *Gera Géta Wäldä Maryam* acting as the guarantor, to *Gera Géta Haylu* for 9 *ber*. The guarantor [is] *Bét T'äbaqi Géta Jänbär*. The witnesses are the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 777, 280r.)

223. L.S.a.27. Wälättä Täklé to Haylu. 1832-55.

In the Era of Marqos, during their reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel, during [the tenure of office of] *Aläqa Webé*, *Re'esä Däbr Gäbrä Maryam*, *Liqä Mäzümran Dästa*, *Qäñ Géta Därso Aychäw*, *Gera géta Feseha* [and] the *Bét T'äbaqi [Géta(s)] Jänbär* [and] *Mat'äntu*, Wälättä Täklé, the daughter [of *Aläqa Kidanu*], sold the 5 *meder* [and] 2 *bota* at Wawa, which *Aläqa Kidanu* bought from *Abba Ya'eqob*,⁵⁹ to *Gera Géta Haylu* for 4 *ber*. The guarantor [is] *Täklé Gäbrä Iyäsus*. The witnesses are the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 777, 280r.)

224. L.S.a.28. Wärqé to Dems'u. 1832-55.

In the Era of Marqos, during the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel, during the period of office of *Aläqa Wäldä Iyäsus* as *aläqa*, *Aläqa Wärqé*, the son [of *Näch'o Sahu*], sold the

⁵⁸ He sold *Azazh Gälawdéwos'* 5 *meder* and 1 *bota* to Sahlé for 9 *ber* during the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel and the guarantor was *Gera Géta Wäldä Maryam*; see B. L. Or. 777, 18r.

⁵⁹ He sold half of the *rim* at Wawa and a third of the *rim* at Aksum and Qwara to *Abba* (later *Aläqa*) *Kidanu* for 2 *wäqét* and an *alad* during the reign of Emperor *Täklä Giyorgis*; see B. L. Or. 777, 12v. 12v

rim of [the Church of] Kwer'atä Re'esu, which Emperor Sahlä Dengel⁶⁰ gave to Näch'o Sahlü, to *Däbtära* Dems'u for 3 *ber*. [The land] is 2 *meder* and 1 *bota* at Säräqären. The witnesses are the scholars.

(B. L. Or. 636, 3v.)

225. L.S.a.29. Abo Gäräd to Web Engeda. 1832-55.

In the Era of Luqas, in the beginning of Mäskäräm, during the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel, during the tenure of office of *Aläqa* Kassa [and] *Liqä Mäzämran* Mesgad, *Wäyzäro* Abo Gäräd⁶¹ sold 5 *meder* [at] Qobla, which *Gera Géta* Arku⁶² bought from *A[bé]to* Kaléb,⁶³ to Web Engeda for 3 *ber*. The guarantor [is] *Mämré* Gäbrä Sellasé [and] the witnesses [are] the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 777, 280v.)

226. L.S.a.30. Terfé to Gäbru. 1832-55.

In the Era of Luqas, during the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel, during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä Berhanat* Kassa [and] *Liqä Mäzämran* Mesgad, *Wäyzäro* Terfé sold the 2 *meder* and 1 and a half *bota rim* of *Emahoy Wälättä* Le'ul, which she bought from *Abéto* Gérsam⁶⁴, to *S'äbaté* Gäbru for 3 *ber*. The guarantor [is] *Aläqa* Wäldä Täklé. The witnesses are the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 777, 17v.)

⁶⁰ He gave only 2 *meder* to Näch'o Sahlü; see B. L. Or. 659, 239r.

⁶¹ According to another document, *Wäyzäro* Abo Gäräd is reported as having given the same *rim* land to Mesgad during the reign of Emperor Gigar; see B. L. Or. 777, 17r.

⁶² He bought one-fourth of a *rim* at Qobla from *Abéto* Kaléb for 1 *wäqét* during the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis; see B. L. Or. 777, 10v.

⁶³ *Abéto* Kaléb bought one-fourth of a *rim* from *Wäyzäro* Enqulal, his aunt, for 3 *wäqét* during the reign of Emperor Sälonon II; see B. L. Or. 777, 285r.

⁶⁴ He sold the 2 *meder* and 1 and a half *bota*, which he received as a bequest from *Emahoy Wälättä* Le'ul, to *Wäyzäro* Terfé, the sister of Re'esä Däbr Adonyas, for 1 *wäqét* during the reign of Emperor Gigar and the guarantor was *Aläqa* Wäldä Täklé; see B. L. Or. 777, 17v.

227. L.S.a.31. Neway to Gäbrä Sellasé. 1832-55.

In the Era of Yohannes, during the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel, during the tenure of office of *Aläqa Fänta* [and] *Liqä Mäzämran Dästa*, Neway⁶⁵ sold the half *rim* and a *bota* at Qobla, which he bought from Alt'ash, the daughter of [*Blatta*] Kiros Barya, to Azazh Gäbrä Sellasé for 5 *ber*. The guarantor [is] *S'äbaté Gäbru*. The witnesses are the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 777, 281r.)

228. L.S.a.32. S'ädalü to Adgo Aychäw and Eténäshi. 1855-68.

In the Era of Matéwos, during the reign of Emperor Téwodros, during the period of office of *Mämher Wäldä Tensa'é* as *qés has'é*, during the tenure of office of *Märi Géta Fänta*, *Qäñ Géta Asrásakhäñ*, *Aläqa Gä[b]rä Maryam*, *Gera Géta Aqebu*, *Aksumé Gäbrä Sellasé* [and] *Haylu Webé*, *Aläqa S'ädalü* sold the [*rim* at] *Merqula*, which *Aqabé Sä'at Käbté*⁶⁶ bought from the children of *Wäldä Abib*, to *Qés Adgo Aychäw* and *Demaha Eténäshi* for 1 *wäqét* [and] 2 *drim*. The guarantor [is] *Aymot Huno*⁶⁷ *Wasé*. The witnesses [are] the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 745, 7v.)

229. L.S.a.33. Web Eshät and Terengo to Bisäwer, Kattu, Met'en, etc. 1855-68.

In the Era of Matéwos, during the reign of Emperor Téwodros, during the period of office of *Aläqa Dästa* as *Aläqa* [and] *Qäñ Géta S'ädalü* as *qäñ géta*, *Web [E]shät* and *Terengo*, the children of *Dästa Kidanä Maryam*,⁶⁸ have sold the 2 *meder* [at] *Wäqarako*, which [their

⁶⁵ Neway, the son of *Wäldä Täklé*, bought the 10 *meder* and 1 *bota* at Qobla from Alt'ash, the daughter of *Blatta Yäkiros Barya*, for an *alad* during the reign of Emperor Gigar; see B. L. Or. 777, 281r.

⁶⁶ In 1782, *Qés Has'é* [later *Aqabé Sä'at*] *Käbté* bought the *rim* land at *Merqula* and a *bota* from the children of *Wäldä Abib* for 2 *wäqét* and an *alad*; see B. L. Or. 745, 7v.

⁶⁷ Ms. *Eymot Huno*.

⁶⁸ I.e., *Kidanä Maryam*, the son of *Wäyzäro Dästa*.

grandmother] *Wäyzäiro* Dästa⁶⁹ bought from *Shaläqa* Zäfät'ari, to *Abba* Bisäwer and Kattu for 4 *ber*. He [also] sold together with his sister the 1 *meder* of *Märi Géta* S'äbahet, keeping the remaining *meder* of the *rim* to himself, to *Abba* Bisäwer, Met'en, Webit, Betag [and] Ber Weha for 2 *ber*. The guarantor [is] Web Eshét. The witnesses [are] the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 549, 2v.)

230. L.S.a.34. Gäbrä Maryam to As'equ. 1855-68.

In the Era of Marqos, during the reign of Emperor Téwodros, during the period of office of *Abba* Wäldä Maryam as *eqa bet*, *Märi Géta* Gäbrä Maryam sold the *bota*, which T'älush Kidanä Maryam⁷⁰ bought from *Wäyzäiro* Hasét,⁷¹ the daughter of *Aläqa* Mahs'äntu, to *Märi Géta* As'equ for 5 *ber*. The guarantor [is] Saqu'él Haylu. The witnesses [are] the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 604, 19v.)

231. L.S.a.35. Enatwa to Feseha. 1855-68.

In the Era of Luqas, during the [reigning] years of King Téwodros, during the tenure of office of *Aläqa* Webé [and] *Liqé Mäzämran* Dästa, Enatwa, the daughter of Merkab Wäldä Kidan, sold the 5 *meder* [and] 2 *bota* [at] Gorgora [and] 10 *meder* [and] 4 *bota* [at] Boch

⁶⁹ she bought *Shaläqa* Zäfät'ari's 2 *meder rim* at Wäqirako from Wälättä Wäld for 2 *wäqét* during the reign of Emperor Täklä Haymanot II and the guarantor was Haylu, the son of Wälättä Wäld; see B. L. Or. 549, 1v.

⁷⁰ She bought the *bota* from *Wäyzäiro* Hasét, the wife of *Aläqa* Käbté, for 7 *drim* and 1 *aqämät* during the reign of Emperor Egwälä S'eyon and the guarantor was Yäsellasé Barya, the grandchild of *Qés Has'é* Elefyos and the surety was *Aläqa* Mahs'äntu, the father of *Wäyzäiro* Hasét; see B. L. Or. 604, 17r. The original owner of this *bota*, however, was Ch'arbit'a Marqos and was bought by *Mämheré* Zäwäldä Maryam from the son of Kidanä Maryam for 1 *wäqét*; see B. L. Or. 604, 3v.

⁷¹ *Aläqa* Käbté, the husband of *Wäyzäiro* Hasét, bought the *bota* from *Abba* Zäwäldä Maryam for 1 *wäqét* during the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis and the guarantor was the light-skinned Käbté; see B. L. Or. 604, 66v.

of *Liqé Mäzämran* Kenfu's *rim*,⁷² which *Liqé Yähulu Géta*⁷³ gave to Merkab Wäldä Kidan, to *Gera Géta* Feseha for 4 *ber*. The guarantor is Yähulu Géta Haylu. The witnesses are the officers [of the church] - *Re'esä Däbr* Gäbrä Maryam, *Qéñ Géta* Tekku, *Gera Géta* Feseha, *Bét T'äbaqi Géta(s)* Jänbär [and] Mahs'äntu, *Em(s)* Kenfu, Sahlu, *Abba* Wäldä Täklé [and] Haylä Sellasé, *T'eran T'äbaqi* Alyé, *Mäch'äné(s)* Wäldä Kidan [and] Aleyé.

(B. L. Or. 777, 15v.)

232. L.S.a.36. Täklé Hirut to Bisäwer.

1855-68.

In the Era of Yohannes, during the reign of King Téwodros, during the tenure of office of *Aläqa* Webé [and] *Liqé Mäzämran* Dästa, Täklé Hirut, the daughter [of Wäldä Sem'on Täklé], sold Kwelomu Yohannes' *rim*⁷⁴ [at] Boch, which Baylé Gäbru⁷⁵ bought [and later] gave it to Wäldä Sem'on Täklé, to *Abba* Bisäwer for 5 *ber*. The guarantor [is] Anbayä Sahlu. The witnesses are the *däbtära*. And [the number of] the *meder* is 12 and the *bota* is 4.

(B. L. Or. 777, 18v.)

⁷² *Liqä Mäzämran* Kenfu gave the *rim* to *Emahoy* Teshal during the reign of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon, saying : "She has served me for several years". The *rim* was again given to *Liqé* [Yä]hulu Géta by *Emahoy* Teshal during the reign of the same sovereign; see B. L. Or. 777, 15v.

⁷³ He gave the *rim* to Wäldä Kidan (i.e., the son of Merkab); see B. L. Or. 777, 15v.

⁷⁴ Wälättä Heywät, the wife of Kwelomu Yohannes' son Säyfu, sold the half *rim* at Boch to *Mäl'akä Berhanat* Wäldä Sellasé for 3 *wäqét*; see B. L. Or. 777, 11v.

⁷⁵ He bought the half *rim* at Boch from *Gera Géta* (later *Aläqa*) Wäldä Sem'on for 2 *wäqét* and an *alad* during the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis (between 1779 and 1796). *Gera Géta* [later *Aläqa*] Wäldä Sem'on bought the half *rim* from Neway and Mers'it, the children of *Aläqa* Wäldä Sellasé; see B. L. Or. 777, 11r. According to another document, he also bought the other half *rim* of Kwelomu Yohannes at Boch from *Abba* Niqodimos for 1 *wäqét* and 3 *drim* during the reign of Emperor Sälonon III (1796-99) and the document goes on to state that he had previously bought the other half of the *rim* at Boch from *Aläqa* Wäldä Semon (sic); see B. L. Or. 777, 9v.

233. L.S.b.1. Mäs'ehét and the *Däbtära(s)* to Sändäq and Mämaläja. c. 1780.

Aläqa Mäs'ehét and the *däbtära(s)* sold *Azazh Zäwdé's* 6 *me[der and]* 1 *bota* at Jangwa [and] 4 *me[der and]* 1 *bo[ta]* at Qebra'él to Sändäq and *Balambäras* Mämaläja for [1] *wäqét* [and] an *alad*, saying [an oath], "Let the Emperor die". They have agreed [that this *rim*] may not be joined with [the other portions of the *rim*].

(B. L. Or. 778, 2v.)

234. L.S.b.2. The *Däbtära(s)* and Aro Wäldä Mika'él to Bajbaj Adgo. 1799/1800.

In the Era of Yohannes (1799/1800), during the reign of Emperor Demét'ros, during the period of office of *Abéto Täklä Sellasé* as *aläqa*, the *däbtära(s)* and Aro Wäldä Mika'él sold the 2 *meder*, which *Aläqa* P'änt'äléwon gave to [the Church of] Rufa'él and [another] 2 *meder*, which Aro Wäldä Mika'él bought, to Bajbaj Adgo for 3 *wäqét*. The guarantor for the [Church of] Rufa'él [is] *Märi Géta* Asabu. The guarantor for Aro Wäldä Mika'él is *Märi Géta* Dängola. The witnesses for this are the officers [and] the *däbtära(s)* [of the Church of Rufa'él].

(B. L. Or. 799, 4v.)

235. L.S.b.3. The Clergy to Selatyon. 1801-18.

In the Era of Luqas, during the reign of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon, during the period of office of *Aläqa* Wäldä Gäbr'él as *aläqa*, *Däbtära* Selatyon bought Wädaju's land [at] At'äfo, which Maryamchi gave for burial prayer, for 4 *drim*. The sellers [of the land are] the clergy. The guarantor [is] *Qäñ Géta* Mehrätu. The witnesses [are] the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 799, 55r.)

236. L.S.b.4. The Officers to As'equ.

1801-18.

In the Era of Yohannes, during the reign of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon, during the period of office of *Aläqa Wäldä Gäbr'él* as *aläqa* [and] *Léwi Haylu* as *märi géta*, the officers [of the Church of *Qeddus Rufa'él*] sold the land at Gissa, which *Géta Qirqos*⁷⁶ gave to [the Church of] *Qeddus Rufa'él*, to *Qäñ Géta As'equ* for an *alad* [of] gold [so that it could be used] for the [reparation of] the roof of the church. The guarantor is *Wäyzäro Mehreka*. The witnesses are the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 799, 5v.)

237. L.S.b.5. The Officers and the *Däbtära(s)* to Kenfé.

1801-18.

In the Era of Yohannes, during the reign of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon, during the period of office of *Aläqa Wäldä Gäbr'él* as *aläqa*, the officers and the *däbtära(s)* [of the Church of *Qeddus Rufa'él*] sold the land at Gilla, which *Géta Léwi*⁷⁷ gave [to the church], [to Kenfé] for an *alad*, saying: “ [it will be used] for [the reparation of] the roof ”. Kenfé bought it. The guarantor [is] *Märi Géta Haylu*. The witnesses [are] *Gera Géta T'ebäbu*, *Qäñ Géta As'equ*, *Bé[t] T'äbaqi Géta(s)* S'ädalü, *Sülam* [and] *Haylu*, *Em(s) Mämré La'eku* [and] *Gera Géta Särs'u* and the *däbtära(s)*.

(B. L. Or. 799, 55r.)

238. L.S.b.6. The Officers and the *Däbtära(s)* to Web Dar Haylu.

c. 1825.

In the Era of Matéwos, during the tenure of office of *Aläqa Éstrom* [and *Li]qä T'äbäbt Täklä Haymanot*, the Officers and the *däbtära(s)* sold the share of [the *rim* of] *Wäyzäro Hawelttä Sem*, which she gave [to the Church of *Däbrä S'ähay Qwesqwam*] for burial prayer, to Web Dar Haylu for 3 *ber*, sayng [an oath]: “Let the Emperor die ”. The witnesses are the officers [of the church].

⁷⁶ He gave 1 *meder* at Gissa to the church; see B. L. Or. 799, 55r.

⁷⁷ He gave 1 *meder* to the church for the preparation of the Eucharist “when he was dying”. Ibid.

(B. L. Or. 776, 4r.)

239. L.S.b.7. The Officers and the *Däbtära(s)* to Gäbrä Kidan. c. 1825.

In the Era of Marqos, during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä S'ähay Sahlu* [and] *Liqé T'äbäbt* Täklä Haymanot, the officers and the *däbtära(s)* [of the Church of Däbrä S'ähay Qweswam] sold the 3 *gasha*, which [?] gave [to the church] for burial prayer, to Gäbrä Kidan for 2 *wäqét*. *Re'esä Däbr Kenfu, Qäñ Géta Wäldä Mika'él* [and the rest of the officers and the *däbtära(s)*] know [about this].

(B. L. Or. 776, 3r.)

240. L.S.b.8. The Clergy to Tāwani Gäbru and Lehukt. 1821-30.

In the Era of Marqos, during the reign of Emperor Gigar, during the period of office of *Aläqa Mäkwänen*⁷⁸ as *aläqa, Märi Géta S'éwa* as *märi géta, Aläqa Gäbrä Yohannes* gave 1 *meder*, which *Abba Wäsän*⁷⁹ gave to him, [to the church] for burial prayer and the clergy sold to Tāwani Gäbru and Lehu[k]t for 3 *ber*. The guarantor [is] *Eqa bét Wäldä Sellasé*. The witnesses [are] the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 799, 26v.)

241. L.S.b.9. The *Däbtära(s)* to Fänta. 1821-30.

In the Era of Marqos, during the reign of Emperor Gigar, during the period of office of *Aläqa Mäkwänen*,⁸⁰ *Märi Géta S'éwa Rufa'él* as *märi géta*, *T'ebäbu* as *qäñ géta*, *Engeda* as *gera géta*, *Wäldä Séllasé* and *Mahs'äntu* as *bét t'äbaqi géta(s)*, the *däbtära(s)* [of the Church of Rufa'él], having received the 2 *meder* from *Aläqa Gäbrä Yohannes*⁸¹ for burial

⁷⁸ Ms. Mäkwänen.⁷⁹ He bought this land at At'äfo from Chärmätu, *Aläqa Sunäteyos'* son, for 6 *drim* during the reign of Täklä Giyorgis; see B. L. Or. 799, 2r. In 1804/5, he gave the land to *Abba Gäbrä Yohannes* so that he may recite the Psalter after his death. see B. L. Or. 799, 1r.⁸⁰ Ms. Mäkwänän.⁸¹ He received 2 *meder* from *Aläqa Abreham* during the reign of the same sovereign; see B. L. Or. 799, 87r.

prayer, which he received as a bequest from *Aläqa* Abreham, [they] have sold 1 *meder* to *Mämheré* Fänta for 2 *ber*. The guarantor [is] *Märi Géta* S'éwa Rufa'él. The witnesses [are] *Liqé* Hirut, the officers [and] the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 799, 157v.)

242. L.S.b.10. The *Däbtära(s)* to Haylu Mäkära. 1821-30.

In the Era of Marqos, During the reign of Emperor Gigar, during the period of *Aläqa* Mäkwänen as *aläqa*, *Märi Géta* S'éwa [Rufa'él] as *märi géta*, the *däbtära(s)* [of the Church of Rufa'él] sold 1 *meder* of the 2 *meder*, which *Aläqa* Abreham gave to *Aläqa* Gäbrä Yohannes, for 3 *ber* to Haylu Mäkära [so that it may be used] for burial prayer. The guarantor [is] *Märi Géta* S'éwa [Rufa'él]. The witnesses [are] the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 799, 26v.)

243. L.S.b.11. The *Däbtära(s)* and Ehetu to Gäbrä Heywät. 1821-30.

In the Era of Luqas, during the reign of Emperor Gigar, during the period of office of *Märi Géta* Gäbrä Kidan as *märi géta*, Zädengel as *eqa bét*, *Qés* Gäbru and Kenfä Rufa'él as *em(s)*, S'éwa and Gäbrä Maryam as *mäch'äné(s)*, the *däbtära(s)* [of the Church of Ledäta] and [*Emahoy* Ehetu], the attendant [of *Märi Géta* Wäldä Rufa'él] sold the 2 *meder* and a *qerana* at Jarjar, which *Märi Géta* Wäldä Rufa'él⁸² bought from *Abba* Éleyas⁸³ and which he gave to the church and his attendant when he was dying, to *Aläqa* Gäbrä Heywät⁸⁴ for 6 *ber*. The guarantor [is] *Abba* Näq'a. The witnesses are the people of the

⁸² Wäldä Rufa'él [later *Märi Géta* Wäldä Rufa'él] bought 2 *meder* at Jarjar from *Abba* Élyas for 1 *wäqét* and 7 *drim* during the reign of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon; see B. L. Or. 604, 19v. He gave the 2 *meder* and another additional *qerana* to *Emahoy* Ehetu and the Church of Ledäta; see B. L. Or. 637, 105v.

⁸³ He bought the 2 *meder* from Zäynu and Wälättä Hanna. see B. L. Or. 604, 19v.

⁸⁴ He sold "the *rim* at Jarjar, which he bought from *Emahoy* Ehetu" to *Däbtära* S'äbaht for 5 *ber* during the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel. The *rim* land mentioned here might, perhaps, be the same land which was sold to him by *Emahoy* Ehetu and the *däbtära(s)* of the Church of Ledäta. see B. L. Or. 604, 18v.

Churches of *Abunä* Gäbrä Münfäs Qeddus [and] Ledäta [and also] *Aläqa* Est'ifanos [and] *Mämré* S'éwa.

(B. L. Or. 604, 19v.)

244. L.S.b.12. The Monastic Community of Waldeba to Haylu, Wäldä Täklé and Abo Sät'uñ. 1832.

In the Era of Yohannes (1832), during the reign of Emperor Gäbrä Krestos, during the period of office of *Aläqa* Wäldä Mika'él as *Aläqa*, [the Monastic Community of] Waldeba sold the *rim*, which they received as alms from [E]mahoy Wälättä Wahd, to the children of Anch'a Kenfeyä for 4 *ber* and 10 [bars of] salt. [The] 2 *meder* [are] Haylu's, 1 *meder* [is] Wäldä Täklé's⁸⁵ [and the] 1 *meder* [is] Abo Sät'uñ's. The guarantor [is] *Abba* Wäldä Kidan of the [Church of] Yälfeñ *Qeddus* Giyorgis. The witnesses [are] the scholars of the right [and] the left. Let whoever steals and erases [the record of this] be anathematized by the power of Peter and Paul.

(B. L. Or. 636, 3v.)

245. L.S.b.13. The *Däbtära(s)* to Täwabäch. c. 1835.

During the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä* S'ähay Wäldä Rufa'él [and] *Liqä T'äbäbt* Gäbrä Kidan, the *däbtära(s)* [of the Church of Däbrä S'ähay Qwesqwam] sold the *bota*, which *Wäyzäro* Sehin gave to the church, to Täwabäch for 1 *ber*. The guarantor is Adgo Aychäw.

(B. L. Or. 776, 268v.)

⁸⁵ Kenfyé Wäldä Täklé gave the 1 *meder* to Geltu Würqé; see B. L. Or. 659, 239v.

246. L.S.b.14. The *Däbtära(s)* to Wäronägodä. c. 1840.

All the *däbtära(s)* [of the Church of Abunä Täklä Haymanot] sold Abba Tälmid's *rim* to Aläqa Wäronägodä for 4 *ber*. The guarantor [is] Liqé Wäldä Maryam. The *ber* [was used] for the reparation of the church.

(B. L. Or. 829*, 51r.)

247. L.S.b.15. The *Däbtära(s)* to Mesgad. c. 1845.

The *däbtära(s)* [of the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé], having received the *bota*, which Engeda bought from /E/mahoy Qedestu, for burial prayer, sold to Liqä Mäzämran Mesgad for 1 *ber*. The guarantor [is] Sahlu Gäbrä Kidan.

(B. L. Or. 777, 18v.)

248. L.S.b.16. The *Däbtära(s)* to Engeda. 1855-68.

In the Era of Matéwos, during the reign of Emperor Téwodros, during the period of office of Mämhré Gäbrä Mädhén as *aläqa*, Qés Terfé as [*qés*] *gäbüz*, Habtu as *liqä deyaqon*, the *däbtära(s)* [of the Church of Mädhäné Aläm] sold [?the *bota*], which Wäldä Mädhäné Aläm⁸⁶ gave to the church, to Engeda for 1 *ber*. The guarantor [is] Qés Terfé. The witnesses [are] the people⁸⁷ [who reside near the church] and the *däbtära(s)*.

(B. L. Or. 518, 170v.)

⁸⁶ He gave ?the *bota*, "which is situated next to Gasha Sägwaj Wäldä Mika'él's" during the reign of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon; see B. L. Or. 518, 171.

⁸⁷ Ms. *qeré*, i.e., ordinary people without any official responsibility.

CHAPTER SIX

LAND DISPUTES

Although there are a few documents dealing with *rest* and *gult* land disputes in the Collections, by far the largest amount of the documentation concerning land dispute deals with *rim* lands. There also exists an occasional reference in the documents relating to residential land, but the real issue here concerns agricultural *rim* land. According to the documents, the *rim* land sales of the churches of Gondar, which started to gain momentum in the middle of the Eighteenth Century, resulted in a relatively sizeable number of *rim* land dispute documents and this upward trend had continued right up to the middle of the Nineteenth century. All in all, there are nearly 85 land dispute documents and the records show that they have been settled either through mediation or through the religious courts and, in some instances, through the court proceedings of the State and they were all conducted according to the indigenous mode of litigation.

As the traditional mode of litigation in Ethiopia was based on the custom and religious law of the country, the approaches taken from both custom and religion for the settlement of disputes appears to have helped in the development of an effective means of administration of justice in the country. While the cultural heritage emphasized mediation the Fetha Nägäst, or the law of the kings, which was incorporated into the legal system of the country in the Fifteenth Century, served as the fountain of justice with fixed rules and principles. In one instance, for example, the Fetha Nägäst is directly referred to for an answer to a specific dispute (L.D.19.) regarding a *rest* land and when the judges agreed on a decision based on this religious dictum, the disputants, too, said: "We stand by it". Moreover, as assessors were selected by the disputants themselves, in one instance, the Fetha Nägäst (L.D.23.) was

also referred to as having been considered the tenth mediator in addition to nine other people during a selection.

The Church's judicial procedures adopted for the settlement of these disputes, as can be seen from the documents, were relatively well developed and the relevant legal provisions allowed the disputants to settle contested issues by a decision satisfactory to both of the litigants. As an *aläqa* of a church was responsible for the general arrangements and allocation of *rim* lands to the functionaries of his church, any disputes regarding such land were settled under his adjudication. However, as the Emperor was the supreme land-control authority, appeals were made directly to him, where he is often reported in the documents as making the final decisions. While an appeal to Emperor Yohannes II (L.D.7.) regarding a *rim* land was referred to Ras Mika'él, the then highest State official of the land, appeals on a similar land made to Emperors Täklä Haymanot II (L.D.11.), Egwalä S'eyon (L.D.21.) and Gigar (L.D.25.) were finalized by themselves. When *Agafari* Kenfu appealed to Emperor Täklä Haymanot II stating that his *rim* land, apparently given to him by an unnamed Empress, was taken by Zéna Gäbr'él, the Emperor is reported to have authorized the restoration of the *rim* to the *Agafari* once he had cleared his debt of 1 *wäqét* and 2 *aqämät* with the defendant. In 1806, Emperor Gwalä S'eyon also authorized (L.D.22) ownership of a *rim* land at Bäläsa to Terengo, the daughter of *Blatta* Lätta. According to the charter, the *rim* belonged to a certain Wäsän but the record stating details of ownership of this *rim* land was "obliterated" by the order of an authority and it appears that a certain Täklé Habtu may have become a successful litigant for its ownership. Fortunately, the supposedly erased document can be found in the same manuscript the contents of which, though carelessly crossed out, can be read easily. The document states that Wäsän's *rim* land at Bälläsa was sold for 4 *wäqét* to *Blatta* Lätta by the children of Wäsän.¹ Indeed, it is therefore not surprising to see that Emperor Egwalä

¹ B. L. Or. 776, 12r.

S'eyon authorized Abél to have the ownership of this *rim* land to be written for Terengo "in the same way as before".²

During the religious court proceedings, evidence and witnesses were the key elements produced by the disputants at the initial stage of the hearing and, in the absence of these, the successful litigant received a guarantee and, in some circumstances, a fixed amount of *wäqét* was stated as a penalty for whomever started contesting settled issues. The penalty was invariably stated to be in *waqét* and, naturally, the amount varied from case to case but it was generally between the ranges of 1 (L.D.4 and L.D.9.) and 3 (L.D.14.). The marginalia is referred to as main evidence during a litigation (L.D.14.) between *Gera Géta* Sälomon and *Abba Aseyäkhäñ* concerning 1 *meder* at Januh, and it is stated that the latter lost the case due to the availability of documentary evidence in favour of the former. The reliance on witnesses is by far greater and there are several references in the documents where cases were won as the result of this. According to a dispute (L.D.24.) between two women namely, *Wäyzäro* Teku and *Wäyzäro* Mert'it, the latter became a successful litigant when she was able to back her case with witnesses. Moreover, when two sisters disputed over a *rim* land, the availability of witnesses again played a decisive factor in the finalization of a litigation. Weshon and Berch'eqo, the daughters of *S'äbaté* Sawiros, disputed (L.D.17.) over a share of a *rim* of Säyfu, who may have been their brother, and the former was allowed to keep the *rim* land after she was able to bring forward 30 witnesses. Nevertheless, there is a case (L.D.23.) where a disputant said that he bought a *bota* for an *alad* of gold but he lost the case as "he called out for witnesses but he could not get one". Thus, with the help of mediators, the document continues, the same individual had to buy the *bota* for 1 *wäqét*.

Moreover, there are several occasion where litigation was caused by the denial of sales of *rim* lands. The disputes were either started by the former disputants themselves or, upon their deaths, by their children or their families.³ Ferdu Gäbru, for

² 270(L.D.22).

³ 257(L.D.9), 258(L.D.10),

instance, was engaged in a dispute (L.D.5.) regarding a land with an unnamed individual. According to the document, he sold the land for 9 *drim* and when he finally admitted receipt of gold, he was required to give a guarantee. He thus eventually named Asébonawit, his original guarantor, to act for him again in the same capacity. Na'od was named as surety and a further surety for Na'od was also land at Wäreq Meder and a *bota*. Koké, the daughter of As'efä Mäläkot, was also engaged in a dispute (L.D.6.) with Abéto Wäldä Est'ifanos. However, Koké also lost the case as the document states that the land at Jarjar, which was at the centre of the dispute, was sold to Abéto Wäldä Est'ifanos for 3 *wäqét*. When Koké was required to identify guarantors, he named Abba Suré and Abba Nabuté, who were also the initial guarantors during the sale of the land. The sale of a *rim* land was also repudiated by relations. According to a document, the relations of Génhoy Mäsqäl Kebra, who were represented by Qüs'äla, were engaged in a dispute (L.D.10.) but they eventually "went away losing the case". The document, though, is ambiguous and does not specify whether it deals with a sale of land or a house. Although it states that it was sold for 12 *wäqét*, it again fails to clarify to whom it was sold but it is perhaps safe to assume that it was a *rim* land and the *Gera Géta* Wäldä Gäbr'él mentioned in the document is the purchaser and thus not the original owner of the *rim* land. Another dispute (L.D.18.) involving a relation over a sale of a *rim* land is that of *Däbtära* Asayäkhäñ and Gäbru. But the dispute was eventually settled through mediators, who persuaded them to divide the 2 *gasha* in Bälläsa and Färäweda between themselves.

249. L.D.1. Fasilädäs to Sedi.

Iyasu [?I] to Hab.

1682-1706.

[The income from] the *gult* land of *Haj* Sedi in the region of Add Gedi, which Emperor Fasil[ädäs] gave to [the church of] Fit Abbo [in] Tegray for [the preparation of] the Eucharist, [is] 5 *wäqét*. [But] later on, when they disputed, Emperor Iyasu [?I] said, "Let Emperor Fasil[ädäs] grant of *gult* land] to *Nägadras* Hab be valid. So that [this ordinance] may not be violated, the *abun* [and] the *ech'ägé* have pronounced an anathema.

(B. L. Or. 729, 2v.)

250. L.D.2. Särs'ä Sellasé's children to Abirädañ and Doqma's children. 1721-30.

The children of *Abba* Särs'ä Maryam, have given their *rest* land as [a mark of] reconciliation to the children of Abirädañ and Doqma, the priests' and deacon's land of Mammo, for which Kassa and Menasé carried out [the required] service under the adjudication of *Abba* Newayä Maryam. If the two [sides] violate this [agreement], they have sworn in the name of God [and] they have [also] said "Let [Emperor] Bäkaffa die" that they will give 10 *wäqét* and [also] give up any claim to their land. [The name of] the region is *Abba* Gwenda. The guarantor for the children of *Abba* Särs'ä Maryam is Kassa. The guarantor for the children of Abirädañ is *Bäjerond* Bitäw. The office of *qés gäbüz* is to be held by the children of *Abba* Särs'ä Maryam [and] a third of the office of *liqä deyaqon* is to be held by the children of Abirädañ.

(B. L. Or. 624, 3r.)

251. L.D.3. Wälättä Sellasé and the people of Zäyo, Basso and Mayo. c. 1750.

In the Era of Marqos, during the reign of Emperor Iyasu [I], when I disputed with the people of Zäyo, Basso and Mayo [concerning the lands] at Addis Anba, Dägorko Safda, Sändäga and T'embat saying "It is my *rest*", they said "Let the Emperor die, we

lost the case". The witnesses are *Liqé Täklé*⁴ [and] *Liqé Näch'o*.⁵ The Emperor said, "Let her celebrate Mass at the Church of Däbrä Berhan". The person who is ordered [to have it written down] is *Abéto Nes'a Kesos*. [This happened] during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akü Berhan Wäldä Hawaryat* [and] *Liqü Mäzämran Gorgoryos*. The owner of the *rest* land [is] *Wäyzäro Wälättä Sellasé*, the daughter of *Wäyzäro Enjori*.

(B. L. Or. 777, 2v.)

252. L.D.4. Fälläg and Aboli.

c. 1765.

During [the period of office of] *Mäl'akü S'ähay Téwodros* as *aläqa* [and] during the tenure of office of *Liqü T'äbäbt Bätru*, when Fälläg and Aboli were reconciled regarding the *rim*, which *Abba Arkälédes* gave to them, the half *gasha* [at] *Dähore Mäkära* [and] the half *gasha* [at] *Dazibähon*, have been given to Abolli as her share. The guarantor for this is *Yabo Barya*, the son of *Abba Mälkä S'édéq*. The adjudicator [is] *Mämher Arkä Le'ul* and the mediators are 12. Regarding this (settlement of dispute), they have said to each other: "May the Emperor die". The penalty for violating this [settlement] is 1 *wäqét*.

(B. L. Or. 776, 270v.)

253. L.D.5. Ferdu Gäbru.

1755-69.

In the Era of Yohannes, during the reign of Emperor Iyo'as, during the tenure of office of *Aläqa Adäru*, Ferdu Gäbru, regarding the land which he sold for 9 *drim*, said, "I have not sold it" but he lost the case during the tenure of office of *Qés As'é Wasé* and took an oath, "May the Emperor die, I have received the gold". When he was giving the initial guarantor, *Asébonawit*, and the suraty, *Naod*, and the asurity for *Naod*, the land at *Wärq Meder* and his *bota*, the witnesses: the *däbtära(s)* and people of the town know this. And there is no money owed in connection with the land.

⁴ Ms. *Leqé Täkalé*.

⁵ Ms. *Leqé Näch'ä*.

(B. L. Or. 508, 284r.)

254. L.D.6. Koké and Wäldä Est'ifanos.

1755-69.

Formerly, during the period of office of *Aläqa* Elfeyos as *aläqa* [and] *Mämhré* Téwodros as *märi géta*, *Abéto* Wäldä Est'ifanos bought the *meder* at Jarjar from Koké, the son of As'efä Mäläkot, for 3 *wäqét* [and] the guarantors *Abba* Suré and *Abba* Nabuté. And later on, during the period of office of *Mämher* Zämika'él as *aläqa* and *Mämher* Mammo as *märi géta*, when he came [back] repudiating the sale, having lost the case, he again totally agreed [to the sale] in front of the right and the left *däbtäras* of the church. And he gave the initial guarantors as guarantee. The year was during the reign of Emperor Iyo'as [I]. When he totally agreed [to the sale], he [i.e., *Abéto* Wäldä Est'ifanos] threw nearly 100 lemons in [the enclosure of] the church saying: "Let this be a mark for me" and all the students eagerly grabbed them.

(B. L. Or. 604, 2v.)

255. L.D.7. Hélla and Wällätä Täklä Haymanot.

1769.

In the Era of Yohannes, during the reign of Emperor Yohannes, during the tenure of office of *Aläqa* P'ünt'äléwon [and] during the period of office of Mahs'äntu as *märi géta* [and] *Abba* Täklé as *eqa bét*, Hélla had a final *däbdabé* written down. *Wäyzäro* Wällätä Täklä Haymanot used to hold *Qés* Adané's *rim* [of the Church] of Ledäta, which she took by force. When Hélla said to Emperor Yohannes [II], "I have been deprived of my father's *rim*", he said to him, "Have the case heard under the adjudication of *Ras* Mika'él". And when [*Ras* Mika'él] heard the case, Hélla became the successful litigant. When [*Ras* Mika'él] said [to *Wäyzäro* Wällätä Täklä Haymanot], "May this [decision] be written down, [and may you take an oath] let the Emperor die", she said, "Let it be written down. I have ceded [the *rim*]. Let the Emperor die". The judge who had [the decision] written down [in the presence of the litigants] was *Shaläqa* Täckaro.

(B. L. Or. 604, 3r.)

256. L.D.8. Mesrach.

1769-77.

During the Era of Marqos, during the reign of Emperor Täklä Haymanot [II], during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akü Berhant Zéna Gäbr'él, Liqä Müzämran Wäldä Dengel, Re'esä Däbr Wäldä Mika'él, Zekrä Negus Aläqa Abba Adgwaychéw, Gera Géta Dängola, Bét T'äbaqi Géta Abba Henbabu*, the *Mäch'üné(s) Wäldä Rufa'él* [and] *Zäfäru, Em(s) Wäldä Mika'él, Enqwä Sellasé, Asrat* [and] *Kaléb* [and] *Eqa T'äbaqi Nabuté, Wäyzäro* Mesrach has finally taken the *rim* of *Wäyzäro As'eqä Dengel's*, her grand mother. When the other disputant refused to pay the *sämon* [to the church], she paid 12 *wäqét* with the permission of the Emperor and [the officers of] the church.

(B. L. Or. 777, 246v.)

257a. L.D.9a. Wäldä Na'od and Täklé

1769-77.

In the Era of Luqas, during the reign of Emperor Täklä Haymanot [II], Wäldä Na'od,⁶ the plaintiff, [and] *Abba Täklé*, the defendant, [appeared before the adjudication, which was carried out] by *Aläqa Keflä Maryam, Aläqa Awesé, Aläqa Wäldä Sellasé* [and] *Aläqa Hirut*. When he (*Abba Täklé*) was litigating, saying, "You are not the son you claim to be", he (*Wäldä Nawed*) became the successful litigant by proving that he is the son. Half of [the *rim* land at] *Boch* [and] half of [the *rim* land at] *Gorgwära* [is] for⁷ *Wäl[dä] Nawed* [and] half of [*Gorgwä[ra]* and] half of *Boch* [is] for *Abba Täklé*. Let *Abba Täklé* benefit [from the *rim* land he owns, but] when he dies, let *Wäldä [Nawed]* benefit [from it] as he had lost 40 years [of income from it]. [This is] what he gave him. The witnesses are⁸ 150 *däbtära*. The penalty for violating this [arrangement] is [1] *wäqét*.

(B. L. Or. 777, 4r.)

⁶ Ms. Wäldä Nawed.

⁷ Ms. bä instead of lä.

⁸ Ms. näw

257b. L.D.9b. Wäldä Na'od and Täklé.

c. 1769-77.

When Wäldä Na'od, the son of Wäldä Kahnat, disputed with his brother *Abba Täklé*, he sued him under the adjudication of *Mäl'akä Berhanat Keflä Maryam*, *Mäl'akä Berhanat Awsé* [and] *Mäl'akä Berhanat Wäldä Sellasé*, saying: "Give me a share of my father's land". And he (*Abba Täklé*) said to him, "You are not his son". But later on, Wäldä Na'od became the successful litigant [whereas] *Abba Täklé* lost the case. Secondly, under the adjudication of *Mäl'akä Berhanat Hirut*, they finally came into an agreement and they divided the full *rim* into two. He reconciled them saying, "But, when *Abba Täklé* dies, let Wäldä Na'od own it all as in the past he did not get [any benefit from the *rim*] for 40 years". And he said, "Let whoever violates this [arrangement] pay [1] *wäqét*".

(B. L. Or. 777, 284v.)

258. L.D.10. Wäldä Gäbr'él and Qäs'äla.

1769-77.

During the reign of Emperor Iyo'as [I], during [the tenure of office of] *Mäl'akä Berhanat Awesé*, Génhoy Mäsqäl Kebra, the child of Wänäbé Wäldä Giyorgis, sold *Gera Géta* Wäldä Gäbrél's [*?rim*] for 12 *wäqét*. The guarantor [is] *Bét T'äbaqi Géta* Wäldä Dengel. And during the reign of Emperor Täklä Haymanot [II], when the relatives [of Génhoy Mäsqäl Kebra], such as Qäs'äla, came [claiming the *rim*], they went [away] losing the litigation. And the witnesses [are] *Mäl'akä Berhant Zäfäru*, *Liqé Haylu*, *Liqé Gäbru*, *Bäjero[n]d*, Mi[l]kyas and the *däbtära(s)* [including] *Mäm[he]r Märdokyo*s, the *Mämher* of [the Monastery of] Migwana.

(B. L. Or. 777, 12r.)

259. L.D.11. Kenfu and Zéna Gäbr'él.

1769-77.

Empress [Mentwab] gave *Abéto* Haylu's *rim* to *Agafari* Kenfu. But, later on, Zéna Gäbr'él took it during [the period of office of] *Ras Mika'él*. When he told Emperor Täklä Haymanot [II], he (Zéna Gäbr'él) said, "He owes me [money]". [The Emperor] said, "Let him repay what he owes you [once he does that] I have given his *rim* to

him". [The money] owed is 1 *wäqét* and 2 *aqämmät*. Having paid back this money, his *rim* was returned to him. *Mäl'akä S'ähay Täklé, Liqä T'äbäbt* Gubch' and all the clergy know [about this issue].

(B. L. Or. 776, 271r.)

260. L.D.12. Gäbru and Terengo.

1777-79.

During the Era of Matéwos, during the reign of Emperor Sälonon [II], during [the tenure of office of] *Aläqa* Yabo Barya, *Liqä Mäzämran* Kenfu, *Re'esä Däbr* Gwalé, *Qäñ Géta* Mär'awi, *Géra Géta* Haylu, *Bét T'äbaqi Géta* *Re'esä Däbr* Kidanu [and] *Yäsellasé* Barya, the *Mäch'inés* Gäbrä Kidan [and] *Wärqé*, the *Ems Abba* S'ädalü, *Qés* Aminadab, *Qés Wäldä* Mika'é[1 and] *Hablu* [and] *T'eran T'äbaqi Abba* Enqu, when *Abéto* Gäs'ä Sellasé was marrying *Abés'erha*, his daughter, to the son of *Liqé* Gäbru, he had stated [the gift of his] *bota* [of the Church] of *Däbrä Berhan* as a dowry. When *Liqé* Gäbru held it saying "It is my *bota* given to me as a dowry and I have provided a commemoration service (for *Abéto* Gäs'ä Sellasé)", Terengo, the daughter of *Abéto* Gäs'ä Sellasé, disputed it, but he became the successful litigant by [providing] witness[es] that it was his dowry and that he had provided a commemoration service [for *Abéto* Gäs'ä Sellasé]. But when a peacemaker said, "Leave [it and] do not say [that]", he gave her 1 *wäqét*. So that she may not start a dispute after this, she has given *Re'esä Däbr* Dängola as a guarantor.

(B. L. Or. 777, 9r.)

261. L.D.13. Lullit and Yaläw Ayqär.

15th January 1779.

During the Era of Luqas, during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä S'ähay* Rob'am [and] *Liqä T'äbäbt* Gäbrä Sellus, in T'er 9 on the day of Friday (15th January 1779), *Wäyzäro* Lullit and *Yaläw Ayqär* disputed regarding *Azazh* Gäbrä Le'ul's *rim* [of the Church] of *Qwesqwam* [and] *Yaläw Ayqär* lost [the case and] as *Azazh* Gäbrä Lu'ul had given it to *Wäyzäro* Lullit, saying: "[Take it as] a compensation". The guarantor for this [is] Lullis [and] the surety [is] *Abäza Fasiko*. [The people] who witnessed that

he gave [it] to her [are] *Liqa T'äbäbt* Bätro, *Azazh Zäwäld*, *S'ärag Masäre* Mika'él, *Abba Näq'a T'ebäb*, Keflu, the scribe, *Mämer Zämika'él*, *Wäldä Iyäsus*, the scribe [and] *Azazh Ya'eqob*. [The arbitrators] who heard this litigation and passed a judgement [are] *Re'esä Däbr* Godana, *Qäñ Géta* Feqru, *Gera Géta* Sälonon, Neway [and] *Bäjerond* Serabyon. And as to the rest, [the *däbtüras* and the officers of] the church are witnesses. He (Yaläw Ayqär) has gone away saying: "Let the Emperor die".

(B. L. Or. 776, 272r.)

262. L.D.14. Sälonon and Asayäheñ.

c. 1780.

Gera Géta Sälonon and *Abba* Asayäheñ were engaged in a dispute regarding the land at Januh [and] 1 *me[der]* at Achäraho [and] he (*Abba* Asayäheñ) lost the case [as documentary evidence was found] in a *däbdabé*.⁹ And the witnesses [are] *Mäl'akä S'ähay* Rob'am, *Liqa T'äbäbt* Gäbrä Sellus, *Qäñ Géta* Feqru, *Gera Géta* Kenfu, *Re'esä [Däbr]* Godäna, *Wäsän*, *Gera Géta* Qérqos and the rest [of the people of the church] know that *Abba* Asayäheñ has lost the case. And the penalty when this [settlement of dispute] is violated is 3 *wäqét*. The guarantor is *Abba* Wäldä Rufa'él.

(B. L. Or. 776, 272v.)

263. L.D.15. Käbté and Héréne.

Dated 1782.

When Emperor Täklä Giyorgis had reigned for 3 yearsn (1782), in the Era of Marqos, [this is] how *Qés Hä's'é* Käbté and *Wäyzäro* Héréne reconciled [regarding] Chärrä Dämmo, their father's land: Bétä Lehém, Ch'älma, Azäzo, *Abba* Samu'él, Bella Jäg, Karkär, Ech'ägé Bét,¹⁰ Bälläsa [and] the *rim* of [the Church of] *Abunä* Täklä Haymanot. The peacemakers *Aqabé Sä'at* Abéslom, *Mämher Zäfärä* Mika'él, *Qés Hä's'é* Kidanä Wäld, *Mägabi* Kenfu, *Shaläqa* Kesadu, *Abéto* Bentu, *Agafari* Näch'a, a district court judge, [and] Ech'ägé Täsfu, the reconciliation guarantor, have reconciled

⁹ Bädäbdabé Tärätäw lit., "He lost the case by a *däbdabé*".

¹⁰ Ms. Yäych'a Bét lit., "House of Ech'ägé".

them saying, "Divide [ownership to the lands] into two". The guarantor for *Wäyzäro* Héréne [is] *Qés Häs'é* Kidanä Wäld [and] the guarantor for *Qés Häs'é* Käbté [is] *Shaläqa* Kesadu. The penalty for whoever violates this [agreement is] 2 *wäqét*. They have [taken an oath] saying to each other: "May the Emperor die".

(B. L. Or. 745, 225r.)

264. L.D.16. Wäldä Yona, Mika'él and Aseyäheñ.

20th December 1782.

In the Era of Luqas, in [the month of] Tahsas, on 13th day, [on] Friday (20th December 1782), during the tenure of office of *Mül'akä S'ähay* Rob'am [and] *Liqä T'äbäbt* Gäbrä Sellus, *Mä[m]her* Wäldä Yona and *S'erag Masäre* Mika'él disputed with *Abba* Aseyäheñ regarding the land of Bes'a [and] he lost the case [and the disputed lands were] 1 *me[der at]* Säqüllabär, 1 *me[der]* Kiräma, 1 *me[der at]* Januh [and the land at] Senbät Das with the *bota*, which belongs to Eshäté, the minstrel. The witnesses [are] *Qän Géta* Feqru, *Gera Géta* Selomon, *Re'esä Däbr* Go[dä]na, *Gera Géta* Kenfu, Wäldä Egzi'abhér, *Abba* Wäldä Rufa'él and the rest [of the officers and däbtäras] of the church [also] know [about this issue]. And [the witnesses] in the region [where the lands are situated] [are] Kidänu and Baymot and the rest are 10 [people in number]. *Abba* Aseyäheñ lost the case and the children of Bes'a have kept it. The guarantor for the 3 *meder* is *Abba* Zäwäldu and the guarantor for the *bota* belonging to Eshäté,¹¹ the minstrel, is Biden. So that this [arrangement] may not be violated, the penalty is 3 *wäqét* gold. [The arbitrators are] *S'ärag Maseré* Adäru, *Abéto* Aklilu, Haylä Egzi'e, *Blattén Géta* Ba'os, *Abéto* Ayenté [and] *Aläqa* Gäbru.

(B. L. Or. 776, 272v.)

265. L.D.17. Berch'eqo and Weshen

c. 1787.

In the Era of Luqas, during the tenure of office of *Mül'akä S'ähay* Sahlu [and] *Liqä T'äbäbt* Gäbrä Selus, Berch'qo and Weshon, the children of *S'äbaté* Säwiros,

¹¹ It also appears as Esété.

disputed regarding the share of Säyfu. [But] Weshon won [the case] after she [managed] to bring forward 30 witnesses. Their share is [the lands at] Gämbära and Bälläs. The share of Berch'eqo is Däzbihon. [The arbitrators] reconciled Berch'eqo and Weshon saying "Benefit by dividing the share of Le'ul Sämré [at] Ebenat between yourselves". The arbitrators [are] *Qäñ Géta* Feqru, *Gera Géta* Qirqos, *Gera Géta* Sälonon, *Abéto* Täklä Gérgis. The reconciliation guarantor for Berch'eqo [is] *Abéto* Haylä Egzi'e [and] the surety is Näch'ä. The guarantor for Weshon [is] *Abéto* Täklä Gérgis.

(B. L. Or. 776, 9v.)

266. L.D.18. Asayäkhäñ and Gäbru

c. 1795.

In the Era of Luqas, in [the month of] Hedar, during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä S'ähay* Absadi [and] *Liqä T'äbäbt* As'equ, *Däbtära* Asayäkhäñ and Gäbru, the nephew of Mämheré Täsfé, disputed regarding the rim, which *Mämré* Täsfé gave to *Abba* Wassé. *Däbtära* Asayäkhäñ said that he bought [it] from *Abba* Wassé [but] Gäbru said that he did not buy [it from him]. But when they were being reconciled, the peacemakers *Aläqa* Asebu, *Liqä T'äbäbt* Engeda, *Aläqa* As'equ, *Asälafi* Yaré, Wäldä Egzi'abhér, Zäwäldu [and] *Gera Géta* Täklä Haymanot reconciled them saying: "May you divide the half *gasha* [at] Bälläsa [and] the [other] half *gasha* [at] Färäweda into two". They (the disputants) have said: "May the Emperor die". The guarantors for the reconciliation for *Däbtära* Asayäkhäñ [is] *Gera Géta* Täklä Haymanot and for Gäbru [is] *Re'esä Däbr* Feqru. When he sold this [rim land], the guarantor is Gäbru. During the period of office of *Mäl'akä S'ähay* Yätäklé as *aläqa* [and] *Liqä T'äbäbt* Bätu, *Däbtära* Asayäkhäñ has bought 1 [*gasha* at] [E]benat, half a *gasha* [at] Färäweda and another] half *gasha* [at] Bälläsa for for 3 *wäqét*. The guarantor [is] *Re'esa Däbr* Zéna Gäbr'él. The witnesses are [the] *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 776, 1v.)

267. L.D.19. Wäldä Sellasé, Demqa and S'ähqu.

1779-1800.

In the Era of Yohannes, during the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis, during the tenure of *Aqabé Sä'at* Käbté, Wäldä Sellasé and Demqa disputed with S'ähqu regarding a *rest* [land]. The Fetha Nügäset states "An illegitimate child must not own what ever a father has not allocated for her" [and] all [of the judges] passed a decision like this.¹² [The litigants] said: "Let the "Emperor die, we stand by the decision". The guarantor for this is Kolkay Guyatu Wäldä Sellasé. The witnesses [are] *Liqé* Gäbru [and] the *däbtära(s)*.

(B. L. Or. 745, 225v.)

268. L.D.20. Es'ä Sina.

1779-1800.

During the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis, during [the period of office of] Beleh Gäbru as *aläqa*, the gold, which the mother and father of Es'ä Sena used [is] 4 *wäqét* and the [gold] *wäqét* used to be my godfather's [and] 12 *ch'an* of cereal is what was given by witnesses - this is what family [and] *däbtära(s)* [and] the elders gave as a witness. She has sold to me a portion of her share [and] forwarding *Géta Éfrém* as a guarantor. I have been engaged in a dispute and have won the case [and] I have paid 3 *ch'an* [of cereal]. During [the period of office of] Gäbrä Kidan as *aläqa*, 3 *madega* [of cereal] used to be [worth] 1 *wäqét* and [the people] who received it [are] Ch'añ Zäwäldu [and] *Abba* Wäldä Yona and the witnesses [are] the *däbtära(s)* [and] the elders. The border [of the land is owned by] *Bäjerond* Haylä Sellasé.

(B.L. Or. 604, 1r)

269. L.D.21. Täklé Habtu and Terengo

23rd October 1806.

In the Era of Luqas, in T'eqmet on 14 day [of] Thursday (23rd October 1806), during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä S'ähay* Wäru [and] *Liqä T'äbäbt* Engeda, [regarding the record in connection with] Wäsän's *rim* [at] Bälläsa, which was obliterated for Täklä Habtu during the tenure of office of *Mäl'akä S'ähay* Sahlu, Emperor Egwalä

¹² I.e., Article 42, Number 1353.

S'eyon said: "Let it be written for Terengo, the daughter of *Blatta Lätta*, [again] the same as before". [The person] who is ordered [to have this order written down] is Abél.

(B. L. Or. 776, 9r.)

270. L.D.22. Wäldä Gäbr'él, Fasil Hirut and As'equ.

Dated 1813.

After Emperor Egwalä S'eyon reigned for 12 years (1813), when Téwodot'os Kenfu¹³ sold Mäs'is' Mammo's *rim*, which was bought by *Abba Tänsu*¹⁴ and, which he [again] sold to Téwodot'os Kenfu, to *Aläqa Wäldä Gäbr'él*, Fasil Hirut [and] *Abba As'equ* went to *Mül'akü Gänüt* Wäldä Maryam, a Judge, saying: "It was not sold". He (*Aläqa Wäldä Gäbr'él*) brought witness[es stating that] he bought [it and] the witnesses [are] *Aläqa As'equ*, *Qäñ Géta* Mänker, Ch'emet, Yaho Bärya, the *Mesläné* of Wät'ämeb [and] Wäldä Sellasé, the priests, the deacons and the *däbtära(s)* stated: "We know that he bought it, received the income from it [and] he [also] celebrated Mass". The officers passed a decision saying, "That is it. Based on what has been heard by the witnesses, you have to cede [the rim]". [But] when they (Fasil Hirut and *Abba As'equ*) went away and appealed to *Liqé S'amru*, *Bäjeroned Zäwäldä Maryam*, *Bäjeroned* Abbo Barya [and] *Liqé S'amru* passed a judgement, saying, "That is it. You will cede [the rim]". They have said: "Let the Emperor die, we have lost the litigation" [and] they have had [the final judgement] written down in their presence. Let whoever steals or erases it be anathematized by the power of Peter and Paul.

(B. L. Or. 778, 9v.)

¹³ He sold the *rim*, which incidentally was at Bälläsa and at Wät'ämb, to *Aläqa Wäldä Gäbr'él* for 8 drim during the reign of the same sovereign and the period of office of *Mäl'akü Gändnt* Wäldä Maryam, who arbitrated in the initial stage of the litigation; see B.L. Or. 778, 9r.

¹⁴ He sold the *rim* to *Abéto* Kenfu for an *alad* of gold each during the reign of Emperor Täklä Giyorgis and the guarantor was Fasil Hirut; see B. L. Or. 778, 2v.

271. L.D.23. Zekru and Wäldä Dengel.

1801-18.

During the Era of Marqos, during the reign of Emperor Egwalä S'eyon, during [the period of office of] *Aläqa* Gäbrä Heywät as *aläqa*, *Märi Géta* Zekru and *Liqé* Wäldä Dengel entered into litigation concerning the *bota* of *Däbtära* Suré, which is [a *bota*] of [the Church of] Ledäta, [and] *Märi Géta* Zekru having said, "I have bought [it] for an *alad* of gold", and named witnesses, he could not find [a single witness but] Mäkkbeb acted as a peace maker in providing nine mediators with a tenth one being the Fetha Nägäset to nominate mediators and the nominated mediators passed a judgement [requesting] the *Märi Géta* "May you buy it again with 1 *wäqét*". They [also] passed a judgement [requesting] *Liqé* Wäldä Dengel, "If you appear in court claiming to be a grandson of [*Däbtära*] Suré, [then] you must give a guarantee and that you must also have [this final judgement] written down". And *Märi Géta* Zekru received a guarantor [after] having given 1 *wäqét*. And *Liqé* Wäldä Dengel gave *Azazh* Amha Kiros as a guarantor [after] he received 1 *wäqét* of gold. They departed taking an oath: "May the Emperor die".

(B. L. Or. 604, 77v.)

272. L.D.24. Tekku and Mert'it.

c. 1820.

During [the period of office of] *Mäl'akä* S'ähay Engeda as *aläqa*, during the tenure of office of *Liqä T'äbübt* Täklä Haymanot, *Wäyzäro* Mert'it took the 1 *gasha* and a half rim [and] the *bota* of [E]shäté Engeda [at] Ench'enaqo, which was held by *Wäyzäro* Tekku, which Wedaj bequeathed to her when he was dying, winning the case with witnesses. And *Wäyzäro* Teku ceded [it] with total agreement saying: "Let the Emperor die". The witnesses [are] *Qäñ Géta* Gäbrä Kidan, *Gera Géta* Wäsän, *Bét T'äbaqi Géta(s)* Lahey and Golja, *Em(s) Aläqa* Negat and *Qés* Gäbru, *Mäch'äné(s)* Tekku and *Kenfä* Gäbr'él, *Eqa Bét Mämhré* Wäldä Éwost'atéwos and the rest of the officers and *däbtära(s)*.

(B.L. Or. 776, 4r.)

273. L.D.25. Abünér and Kenfä Gäabr'él

1821-30.

During the tenure of office of *Mäl'akü S'ähay* Iserom [and] *Liqé T'äbäbt* Täklä Haymanot, when Kenfä Gäbr'él repudiated an agreement which he was party to, regarding *Abéto* Abünér's half of a *gasha rim* [at] Bälto Mahin, which Kenfä Gäbr'él bought [for] 5 *ch'an* of cereal [and] 80 [bars of] salt, Emperor Gigar has given [the rim back] to *Abéto* Abünér. [The officers and the *däbtära(s)* of] the church know [about this issue].

(B. L. Or. 776, 12v.)

274. L.D.26. Kinnu and Saqu'él Haylu

1832-55

In the Era of Yohannes, during the reign of Emperor Sahlä Dengel, during the period of office of *Aläqa* Gäbrä Heywät as *aläqa*, *Mämré* Gäbru as *eqa bét*, *Märi Géta* Kinnu and Saqu'él Haylu disputed [but] when they reconciled through seven mediators, he (*Märi Géta* Kinnu) gave 5 *ch'an* and 3 *madega* [of cereal] from *Mämer* Mammo's *rim* [and] half of the *bota(s)* at Dämba [and] Ledäta to Sequ'él Haylu. The witnesses [are] the *däbtära*.

(B. L. Or. 604, 75v.)

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY

In the foregoing chapters, I have translated and analysed the documents dealing with ownership, sales and disputes of land. As the thesis shows, almost all the royal charters which deal with grants of *gult* lands to individuals contained an authorization by sovereigns either to pay tax to specified churches or to participate in its services. Thus, the overall picture reflected by the study of these documents is that the churches, besides their own records of *gult* lands, had a direct interest in keeping the records of private ownership of land because they were closely tied up with income from these *gult* lands for the provision of their regular services.

Although the documentation system of the churches, with the exception of the Church of Mahdärä Maryam (Cambridge Add. 1570), was generally unsystematic, a scrutiny of the content of the documents reveals that most of them had a similar classificatory structure. Moreover, almost all of them are also reasonably detailed and include essential information as to the background and terms of ownership of land. While the clarity of most of the documents, particularly the royal charters, is noteworthy, some documents dealing with land sales and disputes are abrupt and often omit the name of one of the parties in a transaction or in litigation. Such documents simply state the name of a purchaser or a successful litigant over land. While some doubts created by this lack of information could be obviated by reference to the documents in the Collections at large, unsolved issues have to wait until further similar research in the marginalia of manuscripts of identified churches is carried out. Another major problem regarding the clarity of the documents is associated with lack of differentiation between 𐌺 (6) and 𐌻 (7). These two numbers are repeatedly written in an indistinguishable manner by several scribes. There is also an instance where 𐌺 (60) appears as 𐌻 (8) in one document.

Furthermore, there are documents which are ambiguous, as issues already known to the writers are not explicit in the documents. There are, for example, a few documents which state the sale of unspecified items between individuals and in such circumstances it is difficult to establish whether the issue at point is a *rim* land, a *bota* or a house. Some writers also refer to land in general terms where, in fact, it is a question of specific tenure of land such as *rim*, *gult* and *rest*. The keeping of these documents in the churches, however, has helped in safeguarding the rights of individuals to such lands or property. These legal documents have been passed from generation to generation and, in time of uncertainty and disputes over ownership of land, they have been produced as evidence.

Quite a few documents have either been deliberately obliterated or washed out and this practice, judging from the entirely unerased documents, had been repeatedly used with *rim* land sale documents. It is thus not uncommon to find a *rim* land sale document where a name of a purchaser, a price and a guarantor is erased, leaving only lists of officers of churches and witnesses. Moreover, the texts of a few documents dealing with land sales have also been crossed out but the content of the documents can be read without any difficulty.

Despite the occasional obliteration of essential information in documents, the available marginalia are reasonably detailed and are a reliable source for the understanding of the economic, social and political life of the country. Land ownership and entitlement to tax from it for services to the State and the Church was the main factor in social status in this agricultural society, where individuals held these prerogatives irrespective of gender or religious differences. Records of tax exaction by the emperor over the centuries and the sale of *rim* lands, which started mainly after the first quarter of the Eighteenth Century, serve as a guiding light to economic historians of the country. Essential information, such as currency changes and price movements, are also crucial for a solid construction of the country's economic and social history.

As far as dating is concerned, a few documents show an error in matching the Era of the Evangelist either with the calendar year or with the reign of a sovereign. This

slight error appears in three charters which were written during the reigns of Emperors Yohannes II, Täklä Haymanot II and Sälonon II respectively. Moreover, the classification of the documents of some manuscripts (especially B. L. Or. 776) in chronological order has resulted in enormous difficulty as the writers almost consistently recorded only the Era of the Evangelists, the month, the day and church officials. The writers thus omitted the name of the sovereigns and the year in which they reigned. The mention of church officials alone is not always satisfactory for dating the documents as several identical names occurred over the years covered in the study. The unique mention of names and dates of investiture of *aläqa(s)* of several churches in Gondar in the Royal Chronicle (B. L. Or. 821) between the years 1730 and 1765 has also been of great value in helping me to solve some of the puzzles during this period. This situation forced me to compile a calendar which corresponds to the Ethiopian dates up to 1700 A.D. Conti Rossini's work on this issue is helpful, but it is unfortunately incomplete, being based on a number of individual calculations of dates. Furthermore, the documents in one manuscript (Cambridge Add. 1570.) fail to include any clue to the dates, except in one document, where Empress Mänän is mentioned as the recipient of *rim* land. However, the documents are consistent in listing the officers of the Church of Mahdärä Maryam and local State officials. Thus, the document clearly serves for the identification of the Empress' contemporary officials, and is, indeed, the guiding light for dating other documents in the manuscript.

Several documents in many manuscripts also mention names of sovereigns, but it is difficult to identify those who had the same regnal names. For instance, the main difficulty associated with the identification of the sovereigns who reigned with names Iyasu and Sälonon is partly caused due to the lack of State and Church officials in the documents.

Finally, the charters of Emperor Amdä S'eyon are replete with archaic words and I have described them to the best of my ability. I have thus tried to bring together a large amount of scattered primary material in a convenient and coherent form believing that this in itself would be valuable to students of Ethiopian history and languages.

Indeed, I believe that this thesis is the first systematic study of a sizeable number of land documents, but in no way can it claim to give a complete picture of ownership and administration of land in the country in the specified period. However, it is hoped that it will serve as a step to a more complete compilation and analysis of land documents at present housed in the libraries of several European institutions, and, of course, churches and monasteries in Ethiopia in the future.

APPENDIX

1. C.L.a.1.

በአኩቱተ፡አብ፡ወወልድ፡ወመንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡እስከሉለትኩ፡ካዕበ፡ምድረ፡ግራነ፡ለባቴርጌላ፡
 ማርያም፡እነ፡እምደ፡ጽዮን፡ወግብራሰ፡ለግራ፡ጌወጌ መሰረርያ፡እክል፡፪ወጌ መዓር፡
 ሟጺ ዲው፤ወ፪ ላህም። ፲ ደር፤ወ፪ በግዕ። ፶ ወስከበያ፡ወሐምዛ፡መገድ፡፪ ማዕጸድ፡፪ ምሳ
 ር፡፪ ሕፅን፤ወስመ፡ሹመ፡ምድራሰ፡ባቼ። ወእፈ፡ሱመ፡ምድራሰ፡ዜና፡ክርስቶስ። የዳኻ፡
 እቀጽእ፡ኅብቱ፡የመቂዳ፡እቀጽእ፡በኃይለ፡ሚካኤል፡የደጋእ፡እቀጽእ፡ግብራ፡ወዳውላኒ፡
 ፪። ወጌወጌ ሸማ። ወቀራናኒ፡፬። ወዴውኒ፡ወፌጸ፡በበጌ ለለ፡ወርኑ። ወሊቀ፡ካህናት፡
 ዙታሐቱ፡ዮሴፍ። ወዘላዕሉ፡እምኃ፡ለጽዮን፡ዘንተ፡ጉልት፡ጉለትኩ። ።

2. C.L.a.2.

በእግዚአብሔር፡ወንጌል፡

ዘወሀቡ፡ዘርእ፡ያዕቆብ፡ንጉሥነ፡ለእግዚአብሔር፡አብ፡ምድረ፡በስቃ፡በመዋዕለ፡ሉቃስ፡ወን
 ጌላዊ፡በ፴ወ፩ ዓመተ፡ምሕረት፡

3. C.L.a.3.

በአኩቱተ፡አብ፡ወወልድ፡ወመንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡ዘንተ፡ሥርዓተ፡ዘሠርዓ፡ንጉሥነ፡ዘርእ፡ያዕቆብ፡
 ዘተሰምየ፡ቈስጠንጢናስ፡እምእመ፡ነግሠ፡በጌወ፪ ዓመት። ወዓመተ፡ምሕረትሂ፡እምእ
 ዳም፡እስከ፡እመ፡ተጽሐፈ፡ዝንቱ፡ነገር፡፳፻ወ፴፻ወጌ እንዘ፡ሀሎ፡ምድረ፡ክልእት፤እመ
 ጌወጌ ለወርኃ፡የካቲት፡ዘወሀቦመ፡ምድረ፡ከመ፡ይስብኩ፡ወያስተራትዑ፡ሃይኖተ፡ደቂቁ፡ለ
 ማዕቀበ፡እግዚእ። ወክፍሎመ፡ለደብረ፡ማርያም፡ሰራዊ፡ወበጽርዋጌት፡ወባሕረ፡ማርያም፡
 ወደርቤታ፡እሳያ፡በጊዳ፡ገምዒዳ፡ኅዘ፡ደሰሞ፡ተሮዓ፡እሰውርታ፡ወምድረ፡ባርያ፡ዘደበኔ፡
 ወክልኤ፡ማርያ፡ወክፍሎመሂ፡ለደብረ፡ቢዘን፡ሐማሴን፡ሐምብርት፡እስመራ፡ሰሐርት፡
 ወቀርት፡ባሕር፡እምባ፡ወደርቤታ፡እብርሃም፡ወዋኪቶ፡ወበከመ፡እስተካፈለ፡ዘንተ፡እሳጉረ፡
 ለሰቢከ፡ሃይማኖት፡ይክፍሎ፡እግዚአብሔር፡ሐዩወ፡ለብዙኅ፡ዓመታት። ወመንበረ፡ንግ
 ሦ፡ደረሲ፡ቀዋሚ። እስከ፡ይመጽእ፡በስብሐት፡ወያጥፍእ፡ፀሮ፡ወጸላእቶ፡ዘበቅጽበት። በዝ፡
 ዓለም፡ ወበዘ፡ይመጽእ፡ዓለም፡ደረስዮ፡ርእሰ፡ነገሥታት፡ወየእድሞ፡ለምስሐ፡ደብረ፡
 ጽዮን፡ዘ ፲፪ ዓመት። ወይባርክ፡እሞ፡ብእሲቶ፡ወውሉደ፡በዘመንፈስ፡ቅዱስ። በረከት፡ወል
 ደ፡ትምህርቶመ፡ውእቱ፡ለነቢያት፡ወሐዋርያት፡ዘጽፂን፡በእክናፈ፡ክልኤ፡ድንግልናሃ፡ለእ
 ግዝእትነ፡ እም፡እርዌ፡መስሐተ፡ወይሳብእ፡ሎቱ፡እምገጸ፡ሞት። ለዓለመ፡ዓለም፡
 እሜን። ። ። ። ይቤ፡ንጉሥነ፡ዘርእ፡ያዕቆብ፡እስብእ፡ደብረ፡ማርያም፡ወሰብእ፡ቤዘን፡
 በእንተ፡ዘንቤለክመ፡ስብኩ፡ወመሀራ፡እውረድነ፡እምርእሰነ፡ወኅበ፡ርእሰክመ፡እግባዕነ።

4. C.L.a.4.

እነ፡ዘርእ፡ያዕቆብ፡ወስመ፡መንግሥተየ፡ቈስጠንጢናስ፡ስምዑ፡ዙልቱመ፡ማኅበረ፡እስራ
 ኤል፡ወደብተራ፡ዘመርጡል፡እንሰ፡ወሀብኩ፡ለእግዚአብሔር፡አብ፡ምድረ፡ስምበትነ፡ከመ፡
 ዶኩን፡ለገብረ፡ሌሊት፡ወለሰዓታት፡ወእያጽርኡ፡ጊዜያተ፡፪ ዓቃቤ፡ሰዓት፡ዘግራ፡ወዘቀኒዕ፡
 ዘሴምኖመ፡ዓቃቤ፡ሰዓት፡ብሂል፡ዘሰዓታት፡ዘመዓልት፡ወዘሌሊት፡ወይትቀነዩ፡ገባሮመ፡
 ወይተከል፡ቤቶመ። ።

5. C.L.a.5.

በእኩቴተ፡እብ፡ወወልድ፡ወመንፈስ፡ቅደስ፡እስጌለትኩ፡እነ፡ወናግ፡ሰገድ፡በጸጋ፡እግዚ
 እብሔር፡ዘተሰምየ፡ዳዊት፡እስጌለትኩ፡ኒባነ፡ምድር፡ዘገዜ፡ብልእት፡ለታቦተ፡ጳፊቅሊጦ
 ከ፡ዘቃል፡ነጋሽ፡ለቃል፡ነገሽ፡ዴኩን። እንዘ፡ዓቃምባ፡የውሀ፡ክርስቶስ፡ወሾብሕር፡ጃን፡በወሰ
 ን፡ወእፈ፡እቃምባ፡ዜና፡ክርስቶስ፡ወመልከኖት፡ተክለማርያም፡ወነቢዴ፡እንዘ፡ቃለ፡ሐዬ፡
 እዛዝ፡እባ፡በሰራ፡ወጃን፡ጽራርር፡ተክሌ፡ወፈንታዴ፡ዘንተ፡ዘሄደ፡ወዘተእገለ፡እመሂ፡ንጉ
 ሥ፡ወእመሂ፡ጳጳስ፡እመሂ፡መኰንን፡እመሂ፡መስፍን፡እው፡ሹመ፡ምድር፡እው፡እቃንጸን፡
 ዴኩኑ፡ውጉዛነ፡በእፈ፡እብ፡ወወልድ፡ወመንፈስ፡ቅደስ፡ወበእፈ፡ማርያም፡እመ፡ንጉሥ፡
 በእፈ፡፫ ወ፪ ሐዋርያት፡ጽደላነ፡አውራስ፡በእፈ፡፫፻ ነቢያት፡ምሉእነ፡መንፈስ፡ወበእፈ፡ጸ
 ድቃን፡ወሰማዕት፡እለ፡ሞሉ፡ወለደያብሎስ፡ወበእፈ፡ተሎሙ፡ትጉሃነ፡ሰማዴ፡እለ፡ዴቄ
 ድስዎ፡ለሥሎስ፡ዘንተ፡ምድረ፡ዘያሳድ፡ወዘይትሌገል፡ዴኩን፡ውጹእ፡እምልበ፡እግዚእብሔ
 ር፡ልዑል፡ወእምኪዳነ፡ምሕረት፡ላማርያም፡ድንግል፡ወዘሰምዓ፡ዘእንዘኑ፤ እንጂን፤ ለይበል፤
 እንጂን፤ እንጂን፤ ወእንጂን፤ ለይኩን፤ ለይኩን፤ ለይኩን፤ በእንተ፡ሥጋሁ፡ወደሙ፡ለክርስቶስ፡
 ለይኩን፡ለይኩን። ወግብራሰ፡ከመዝ፡ውእቱ፡ሥርዓቱ፡፴ መዓር፡ወ፬ መተዎ፡ወእክልኒ፡ብ
 ዙኅ፡ዘንተ፡ዘሄደ፡ዴኩን፡ውጉዝ፡በሥጋሁ፡ወደሙ፡ለዘተሎ፡ዴእኅዝ፡ለዓለሙ፡ዓለም፡
 እንጂን። ። ።

6. C.L.a.6.

ቅድመኒ፡ዘወሀቡ፡ለሊቀ፡ካህናት፡ፋሲለ፡ጸስ፡ንጉሥነ፡ልብነ፡ድንግል፡ዘማርያን፡ታቦተ፡
 ደብረ፡ዴኩንከ፡ብሂሎ፡ዋላትነ፡ምድረ፡የእባ፡ሊባኖስነ፡ምድረ፡ዴኩን፡ለዘማርያ፡ማርያ
 ም፡ብሂሎ፡ወሀቡ፡ዳግመ፡ሐዬ፡ገላውዴዎስ፡ከመ፡እቡሆሙ፡ወዘተዓገለ።

7. C.L.a.7.

በእኩቴተ፡እብ፡ወወልድ፡ወመንፈስ፡ቅደስ፡ንጉሥነ፡ልብነ፡ድንግል፡ወሀቡ፡ቅድመ፡ለታቦ
 ተ፡ማርያም፡ለፀጓ፡ብዙኅ፡ገራኅተ፡ወስመ፡ገራህትሂ፡ሀሎ፡ጽሑፍ፡ውስተ፡ወንጌል፡ለው
 እቱ፡ታቦተ፡እምዳየን፡እስከ፡በሸሎ፡ገቢእ፡ወሊእ፡ወድኅረ፡ወሀቡ፡ንጉሥነ፡ገላውዴዎስ፡ለታ
 ቦተ፡ሥላሴ፡በመምሕር፡ዕዝራ፡እንዘ፡ዴኩን፡ዘታቦተ፡ለታቦ፡ወቃለ፡ሐዬ፡ድሎ፡ወእመ፡ወፅ
 እ፡እስራኤል፡ሐዬ፡እለ፡ጸጋ፡ብርሃን፡ወሊቀ፡ካህናት፡ፋሲለጸስ፡እንዘ፡እጽሐፈ፡በስራ፡
 በወንጌል፡በእባወጥ።

8. C.L.a.8.

መጽሐፈ፡መልእክት፡እምኅበ፡ንግሥተ፡እድማስ፡ሞገሳ፡ትብጸሕ፡ኅበ፡ተሎሙ፡እስራኤ
 ል፡ስምዑ፡ዘንብለክሙ፡ናሁ፡ወሀብኖሙ፡ለእባ፡ፍቅጦር፡ከመ፡ትኰኖሙ፡ርስተ፡ምድረ፡
 ግሮት፡ወሊዴትዓደዋ፡መኑሂ፡እምኔክሙ፡ወሊእምስዩማን።

9. C.L.a.9.

ተጽሐፈ፡በትእዛዘ፡ንጉሥ፡እዚዝ፡መላክ፡ሰገድ፡ወዴቤሎ፡ከመዝ፡ንሕነ፡ወሀብናሁ፡ለእባ፡ሐ
 ራ፡ምድረ፡ድብሪ፡እንዘ፡እዛዝኹ፡ደቅስኖስ፡ወኅደራው፡እንዘ፡ቀኝጌታ፡መናድሌዎስ፡ወግ
 ራ፡ጌታ፡ስንኮሪስ፡እንዘ፡በትረ፡ያርክ፡እባ፡ዘድንግል፡እንዘ፡ሊቀ፡መጻኔ፡ክፍሌ፡በቀኝዕ፡ወ
 ቃቂታቸ፡በረከት፡እንዘ፡ውስጥ፡ብላቴና፡እምዴ፡እንዘ፡ዳሞት፡ደፈላም፡ተክለ፡ጊኖርጊስ፡ወ
 ሥዩሙ፡ኃዳ፡ሐርቤ። እመቦ፡ዘይበውእ፡ኅቤሁ፡ኢሥዩም፡ርዳሞት፡ወሊመዘከር፡በተእድዎ፡
 ትእዛዝነ፡ዴኩን፡ውጉዝ፡በሥልጣነ፡ኢጥሮስ፡ወጳውሎስ፡ወበቃለ፡እባ፡እብያታር፡መምህር፡

ዘጸብረ፡ ማርያም፡ ወበሥልጣነ፡ ቃሉሙ፡ ለፍተ፡ ድንግል፡ ወእቢብ፡ ሊቃውንተ፡ ዛቲ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ በዝ፡ ዓለም፡ ወበዘይመጽእ፡ ዓለም፡ እሚን።

10. C.L.a.10.

ርሀ፡ ወሀብነ፡ ንሕነ፡ ዓለም፡ ሰገድ፡ ወበጸጋ፡ እግዚእብሔር፡ ዘተሰመዶነ፡ ፋሲለጸስ፡ እህጉራተ፡
 ምድር፡ ዘግራ፡ እለ፡ ይሰመያ፡ ጸንከላ፤ ጸቀጥ፤ ምዝጥ፤ ሃሸጥ፤ ብዳቆስ፤ ፀዳ፤ ሽቱ፡ ደር።
 ጉዛ። ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያነ፡ እእዳወ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ እኅወ፡ እጪጌ፡ እባ፡ ዘክርስቶስ፡ ወእዞዝነ፡ ከመ፡ እ
 ይባእ፡ መኑሂ፡ እምሥዩማነ፡ በጌምድር። እመሂ፡ በተተስ፡ ወሐዜ፡ ቆሎ፡ ወእመሂ፡ በዳኝነት፡
 በደምሂ፡ ወበእርብዓ፡ ወሌባ፡ ድም፡ ወእ፡ በምንትኒ፡ ምክንያት፡ ከመ፡ ይኩነነ፡ ለመድኃኒተ፡
 ነፍስ፡ ወሥጋ፡ ዓዲ፡ በትእዛዘ፡ ንጉሥነ፡ ዓለም፡ ሰገድ፡ እውጉዙ፡ ትሎመ፡ መምሐራነ፡ ቤተ፡
 ክርስቲያን፡ በሥልጣነ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ከመ፡ እዲትዓደው፡ መኑሂ፡ ዘንተ፡
 ትእዛዘ፡ በሥምረተ፡ እግዚእብሔር። ክቡር፡ ወልዑል። በረድሌታ፡ ለእግዚእትነ፡ ወላ
 ደተ፡ እምላክ። ጸሐፍነ፡ እህጉራተ፡ ምድር፡ ዘግራ፡ እለ፡ ይሰመያ፡ ጸንከላ። ጸቀጥ፡ ምዝጥ።
 ሃሸጥ። ብዳቆስ። ፀዳ፡ ሽቱ፡ ደር። ጉዛ። ዘወሀቡ፡ ንጉሥነ፡ ዓለም፡ ሰገድ። ወበጸጋ፡ እግዚእ
 ብሔር፡ ዘተሰምዩ፡ ፋሲለጸስ፡ ከመ፡ ይኩና፡ ጉልተ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ዘቂስ፡ እእዳወ፡ ክርስቶ
 ስ፡ እኅወ፡ እጪጌ፡ ዘውእቶመ፡ እባ፡ ዘክርስቶስ፡ ወልደ፡ እባለ፡ ክርስቶስ። ወከመ፡ እዘዙ፡ እዲ
 ባእ፡ መኑሂ፡ እምሥዩማነ፡ በጌምድር፡ በምንትኒ፡ ምክንያት፡ እመሂ፡ በተተስ፡ ወእመሂ፡ በሐ
 ዜ፡ ቆሎ፡ ወዳኝነት፡ ወደምሂ፡ ወበእርብዓ፡ ወሌባ፡ ድም። በዘ፡ ኮነ፡ ትሎ። ዝንቱኒ፡ ኮነ፡ በ፪፻፬
 ፪፻፶፬ ወ፪ ዓመተ፡ ዓለም፡ እንዘ፡ ወንጌላዊ፡ ሉቃስ። ወእም፡ እመ፡ ነግሡ፡ በ፴፬ ዓመተ። እመ፡
 ፲ ለወርቃ፡ ግንቦት፤ እንዘ፡ ሀለዉ፡ በእሪንጎ፡ ሥዩማነ፡ ከተማሂ፡ ዘነበሩ፡ በውእቱ፡ ዘመን፡
 ብተወደድ፡ ራስ፡ ወልደ፡ ጊዮርጊስ። ዓቢይ፡ ብላቴን፡ ጌታ፡ እቤቶ፡ አካሌ። ወንሕስ፡ ብላቴን፡
 ጌታ፡ ደጅ፡ እዝማቸ፡ ድሜጥሮስ። ወሥዩመ፡ በጌምድር፡ ደጅ፡ እዝማቸ፡ ማኅደረ፡ ክርስ
 ቶስ፡ ወውሥጥ፡ እዛዢ፡ ዘፋፋሌል። ጸሐፊ፡ ትእዛዢ፡ እዛዢ፡ ክፍለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ። እዛዢ፡ ወልደ፡
 ትንሣሔ፡ ወእዛዢ፡ እሥራተ፡ ዘግራ። ሳዲግ፡ ራስ፡ ዘሐዋርያት፡ ወእዛዢ፡ ሡራሄ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዘ
 ቀኝ። እዛዢ፡ የማኖ፡ ጣሪስምባ፡ ደምሳቸ። እዛዢ፡ ከናፍረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዝንደረቦች፡ እዛዢ። እ
 ዛዢ፡ ቅብእ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዘቀኝ። ሊቄ፡ ብዕለ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወሊቄ፡ ዘመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘቀኝ። ሊ
 ቄ፡ የማኖ፡ ወሊቄ፡ ዘሥላሴ፡ ዘግራ። ዓቃቤ፡ ስዕት፡ እባደር፡ ጸረጅ፡ ማስራ፡ ቈስጠንጢኖስ።
 ቄስ፡ ሐዜ፡ እባ፡ ዘወልደ፡ ማርያም። ሊቀ፡ ማእምራን፡ እቅመ፡ ክርስቶስ። ሊቀ፡ ደብተራ፡
 ቄስጠንጢኖስ።

11. C.L.a.11.

በዘመነ፡ዮሐንስ፡እፄ፡ፋሲል፡ለስዕል፡ቤት፡ምድር፡፶፪ ሰተዋል፡በእለቃ፡ዘጊዮርጊስ፡እለቅነ
ት፡የበእለ፡ሳለታት፡የእቃ፡እምስተያ፡፪ ጌታና፡የዘጠኝ፡ጫን፡ጉራንባ፡የቀረው፡አዋና፡ነው።
፲፰ ምድር፡ከ፪ ቦታ፡ጋራ፡፪ ጫን ካብ፡ፎገራ፡ነው፡

12a. C.L.a.12a.

ኅ.ልቁ፡ምድር፡ዘመድኃኔ፡ዓለም፡ጉቢያ፡እኔ፡ፋሲክ፡የሰጡት፡፺ም፡፲፰፡ቦ፡ያ፲፯፡ጫ፡ያዪ፡
ቆሎ፡ህፃ፡ጪ፡ጪ፡ው፡በቀርባን፡ተክሎ፡ጮው፡የፍሪዳ፡፸፯ም፡፲፬፡ቦ፡ህፃ፡ጪ፡ጪ፡ው፡የ፺፯፡ጫ፡ያዪ፡ቆሎ፡
በበከ፡በቀርባን፡ተክሎ፡

፲፬ኛው ፡ ፲፮ ሰ፡ ፻፲ ጩ ፡ ያዲ ፡ ቅሌ ፡ ሆነ ጩው ፡ የወጸዘር ፡ ጉርንድና ፡ ያንጥረኛ ፡ ርስተኛው ፡
ቢያረፍ ፡ ኛ ፡ ኛ ግድ ፡ ያዲ ፡ ቅሌ ፡ ኛ ሰ፡ የጋላ ፡ ወልደ ፡

፪፻ ም፡ሟ ስ፡ያ፲፭ ጫ፡ያዬ፡ቆሎ፡ሽ ጩው፡በድምያኖስና፡በወለቱ፡ጭቅነት፡ከዚህ፡፻ ም፡
፲ ስ፡የእየሱስ፡የመስቀል፡ነው፡፪ ም፡የመድኃኔ፡ዓለም፡የመሥዋዕት፡፲፭ ም፡የጫን፡ከደል፡
ያዬ፡ቆሎ፡፭ ጩው፡በድምያኖስና፡በወለቱ፡የጐስጓሽ፡

ሟ፭ ም፡፭ ስ፡ያ፬ ጫ፡ከደል፡ያዬ፡ቆሎ፡፲፭ ጩው፡የዘሥላሴ፡በእርቃድኖስ፡ርስት፡በድሙሩ፡
ሟ ጫ፡ያዬ፡ቆሎ፡በመቤት፡እባለ፡ማርያም

ሱፋንቀራ፡፫ ም፡ሽ ጭንጫ፡ያ፲ ጫን፡ያዬ፡ቆሎ፡የዕሌኒና፡የያዕቆብ፡ሽ ጩው፡የፍሪዳ፡

12b. C.L.a.12b.

ኅልቄ፡ምድር፡ዘመድኃኔ፡ዓለም፡ጉቢያ፡እዬ፡ፋሲል፡የሰጡት፡፯ ም፡፲፰ ስታ፡ያ፲ ጫን፡
ያዬ፡ቆሎ፡ሽ ጩው፡በቀርባን፡ተክሎ፡የፍሪዳ፡

፹፬ ም፡፲፰ ስ፡ያ፲ ጫ፡ያዬ፡ቆሎ፡ሽ ጩው፡የወደዘር፡ጐርንድና፡ያንጥረኛ፡ርስተኛው፡
ቢያልፎ፡ስፍሩ፡እንደ፡ቤተ፡መንግሥት፡ሲሶው፡ጤፍ፡ባንድ፡ሶስት፡

ሟ፭ ም፡፭ ስ፡ያ፬ ጫ፡ከደል፡ያዬ፡ቆሎ፡፲፭ ጩው፡የዘሥላሴ፡በእርቃድኖስ፡ርስት፡

ዓለም፡ሰገድ፡ፋሲል፡የሰጡት፡ለመሥዋዕት፡፪፻ ም፡ሟ ስ፡ባ፭ ጫ፡ያዬ፡ቆሎ፡ባ፲፭ ጩ፡
እዛዢ፡ዘግካሌል፡ዘወለቃ፡ቀድሰዋል፡ደረስጌ፡ስለ፡ግምቡ፡ለውጥ፡የሰጡዋቸው፡

፪፻ ም፡ሟ ስ፡ባ፭ ጫ፡ያዬ፡ቆሎ፡ባ፲፭ ጩው፡አላመገን፡ቀድሰዋል፡ስለ፡ክርስትና፡የሰጡት፡ሀገሩ፡መለሳይ፡ወስመ፡ጥምቀቱ፡ገብረ፡መድሳን፡

ሱፋንቀራ፡፫ ም፡ሽ ጭንጫ፡ያ፲ ጫን፡ያዬ፡ቆሎ፡ሽ ጩው፡የዕሌኒ፡የያዕቆብ፡ሽ ጩው፡
የፍሪዳ፡

ሰራባ፡በዓታ፡፪፻ ም፡ያ፲ ጫ፡ያዬ፡ቆሎ፡ሟ ስታ፡ሽ ጩው፡ጩው፡የማሟት፡ርስተኛው፡ዋኒ፡
ተክሎ፡ዘራዴ፡ሲሶው፡ያዬ፡ቆሎ፡በሲሶው፡ዴገበራል፡ዴህ፡የደብተረ፡ስፍሩ፡እንደ፡ቤተ፡
መንግሥት፡ሲሶው፡ጤፍ፡

13. C.L.a.13.

ነዋ፡ወሀብነ፡ንጉሠ፡ነገሥት፡ኖሐንስ፡ዘወሐብቃ፡ለእቡነ፡መዝራእተ፡ክርስቶስ፡ስመ፡ዴኩኖ፡
ለመድኃኒተ፡ሥጋ፡ወነፍስ፡ምድረ፡መታሮ፡ለደብረ፡ማዴዴር፡ምድረ፡እእዳጎ፡ማዴ፡ቂ
ደቦ፡ምድረ፡እምባዴ፡ደቃ፡ምድረ፡በእት፡ምድር፡እንተ፡ትሠመዴ፡ኢዴባዕ፡ስኖመ፡እስገደ፡
በሰራፎ፡በጸዕዳ፡እምባ፡በስብጣ፡በእምባ፡ደንሶ፡በጐድጐዳ፡ለሐም፡ኢዴባዕ፡ሐራዊ፡በገብረ፡
ዳኒኒት፡ዘእንበለ፡መባህተ፡መምህራ፡ዘረሐቆ፡በሥልጣነ፡ጴጥሮስ፡ወጸውሎስ፡ውጉዘ፡ለዴ
ኩን፡

14. C.L.a.14.

ነዋ፡ ወሀብነ፡ ንሕነ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ እስላፍ፡ ሰገድ፡ ወበጸጋ፡ እግዚእብሔር፡ ዘተሰመደነ፡ ኖሐ
ንስ፡ ለተርዓተ፡ ርእሱ፡ ዘሀሌ፡ በማሳፈደ፡ መንግሥትነ፡ ሀገረ፡ እምድረ፡ ሰረቀር፡ ፳ ምድር፡
በጅዋና፡ ሚም፡ በለያ፡ ማርያም፡ በጃጃ፡ በዋንዛ፡ ፳ ም፡ በጃርጃር፡ ፲፬ ም፡ በሰረቀ፡ ፲ ም፡ በ
ገዘው፡ ፲፬ ም፡ በፍንጥሮ፡ ፱ ሜን፡ ጉራምባ፡ ዴሕን፡ ግን፡ ትብያ፡ ማርገፍያ፡ ብሎ፡ ሰተዋቸ
ዋል፡ ከቅባኑ፡ ምድረዎ፡ ሲሶም፡ የለም፡

15a. C.L.a.15a.

በእኩቱተ፡ እብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ተወጥነ፡ ሕንፃ፡ ደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ በዘመነ፡ መንግ
ሥቱ፡ ለንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ እድያም፡ ሰገድ፡ ዘበጸጋ፡ ጥምቀት፡ ተሰምየ፡ እያሱ፡ በ፲ ዓመተ፡ መን
ግሥቱ፡ በዘመነ፡ ኖሐንስ፡ ወሠረቀ፡ ቲቶ፡ ፀለተ፡ እሑድ፡ ወ፪ ጥንተኖን፡ ወእበቅቴ፡ ፲፩፡ ወመ
ጥቅፅ ፲፱፡ ወበሃልሳይ፡ ዓመት፡ በ፲ ወ፪ ዓመተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ በዘመነ፡ ማርቆስ፡ ወበውእቱ፡
ዘመን፡ እመ፡ ፳፬ ፳ ለጥር፡ በዕለተ፡ እሁድ፡ እንግሥ፡ ንጉሥ፡ እያሱ፡ ታቦተ፡ ሥሉስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወተ
ለዎ፡ ኪያሃ፡ እስከ፡ ደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ ተፅዒኖ፡ ፈረስ፡ ወእኒዞ፡ ዘገረ፡ ምስለ፡ ተሉሙ፡ መኪንንት፡
ወእባ፡ ማርቆስ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ወእጪ፡ እባ፡ ፀጋ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወነጋረት፡ ወምስርቃና፡ ነጋሪትሂ፡ ጽዑ
ን፡ በደበ፡ ገመል፡ ወበጸሐ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ውስተ፡ እንቀጸ፡ ጽርሐ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስትያን፡ ወረደ፡ እምሳፅ
ለ፡ ፈረስ፡ ወደረ፡ ታቦተ፡ ደበ፡ ርእሱ፡ ወእብእ፡ ውስተ፡ መቃረብያ፡ ወበህየ፡ ቀደስ፡ ታቦተ፡ እባ፡
ማርቆስ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ወተቀንየ፡ መወድስ፡ ዓቃቤ፡ ሰዓት፡ ጥበበ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወዓዲ፡ መወድስ፡
ዘተሰከሙ፡ ተቀንየ፡ ጸሐፊ፡ ትእዛዝ፡ እዛዢ፡ ሐዋርያ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዘጸሐፈ፡ ዘንተ፡ ታሪክ፡ ንጉሥ፡
እያሱ፡ ወዕጣነ፡ ሞገርሂ፡ ተቀንየ፡ እባ፡ ቀውስጦስ፡ ዘሄሞ፡ ሊቀ፡ ሳፅለ፡ ካህናቲሃ፡ ወረሰኖ፡ ንቡረ፡
እድ፡ ዘእክሱም፡ እምሊእ፡ ኪያሁ፡ እምገዳመ፡ ወርቅ፡ ለብሐ፡ ወበሂኒታ፡ ተንሥእ፡ ንጉሥ፡ እም
ኃንጸር፡ ወበጸሐ፡ ውስተ፡ ፀዳ፡ እሠርገዎ፡ ለእባ፡ ቀውስጦስ፡ ካፓ፡ ወእመ፡ ፪ ለየካቲት፡ ቦእ፡ እሪ
ንጎ፡ ወበህየ፡ ገብረ፡ መባጃ፡ እንዘ፡ የኃሪ፡ ካህናት፡ ማእምራነ፡ ብሉይ፡ ወሐዲስ፡ ወመዝሙር፡
ወድርሰት፡ ወወሀቦሙ፡ ሎሙ፡ ጉልተ፡ ብዙኃ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ በኹ፡ ፳፱ ምድር፡ ፪፱ ቦታ፡ ቅብላ፡
፳፱ ምድር፡ ፪፱፳ ቦታ፡ ፴ እንጉቶኹ፡ የሚቀድሱበት፡ ፲፪ ምድር፡ የውስጠ፡ ጉልት፡ ለለቃ፡ የ
ጪፈ፡ ግብር፡ የሚሰጡበት፡ ፳ጐል፡ ፪፱ ምድር፡ ፱ ቦታ፡ ዋዋ፡ ፲፱፱ ምድር፡ ፱፴ ቦታ፡ ሱፋንቀ
ራ፡ ፪፱፡ ምድር፡ ፱ ቦታ፡ ወደና፡ ፱፱ ምድር፡ ፱ ቦታ፡ ትርፍ፡ ምድር፡ ፱፱ ምድር፡ ነው፡ የተቀደሰ
በት፡ ከምካምባ፡ ሰራቅ፡ ዘነበረ፡ በእደ፡ ፳፱፳፡ ዘደሰመደ፡ ዴቱ፡ ባዋ፡ ፳ ምድር፡ ፳፩፡ ቦታ፡
፳፻፱፡ ፳ ምድር፡ ፳፩፡ ቦታ፡ ሰቀልት፡ ፳ ምድር፡ ቦታውም፡ ፲፪፡ ነው፡ ከባላንገብ፡ ጋራ፡
ነው፡ ከማርያም፡ በጎ፡ የተከፈለ፡ ዳብሎ፡ ዘነበረ፡ በእደ፡ እቤቶ፡ ኤስድሮስ፡ ፳፱ ምድር፡ ፬፱፱ ም
ድር፡ ፪፱፪ ቦታ፡ ለደብተራ፡ ፪፱ ምድር፡ ለድሐ፡ ሰራባ፡ ዘነበረ፡ በእደ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ፳፱ ምድር፡
፱፱ ቦታ፡ ፱ ሜን፡ እዩ፡ ቅሎ፡ በብርት፡ ኃርጎራ፡ ፬ ዘጠና፡ ፪፱፲ ቦታ፡ ፳ ምድር፡ ፳ ቦታ፡ ለተዝካ
ረ፡ ንጉሥ፡ የዚህ፡ ሁሉ፡ እቅምራ፡ ቢደርቅ፡ እስከ፡ ጸቅ፡ ብለው፡ ሰጥተዋል፡ ዋልዋጅ፡ ዘነበረ፡
በእደ፡ ጋላ፡ እደ፡ ሺህ፡ ምድር፡ ፳፱ ቦታ፡ እምስመ፡ ክፉ፡ እስከ፡ ካንጃ፡ እንቃኸ፡ ፲፩ ጋሻ፡ ተኩ
ል፡ ጋሻ፡ ተኩ፡ የደል፡ ዘቢብ፡ ዘይከውን፡ ለተዝካረ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ለመባርህት፡ ወለዕጣን፡ ወለቅርባን፡
ሰሜን፡ ከንጉሡ፡ ግብር፡ ከፍሎ፡ ፳፡ ወቂት፡ የጥምቀት፡ ራት፡ ወቂት፡ ለቂስ፡ ዓመት፡ ሊያጥ
ን፡ በቤተ፡ ክርስቲያኑ፡ ምሉኡ፡ ኰዜ፡ ሲያልቅ፡ ሲያልቅ፡ ትግራ፡ ናዴር፡ ዳግና፡ እክሱም፡ ፱ ወቂ
ት፡ ዝንቱ፡ ኰሉ፡ ከመ፡ እዴትነሡት፡ እውገዙ፡ እቡነ፡ ማርቆስ፡ እጪ፡ ጸጋ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወካህ
ናተ፡ ኃንጸር፡ ወመነኩሳት፡ ዘገዳማት፡ ወዘደስያት፡ ወበውእቱ፡ መዋእል፡ እኒዞ፡ ንዋየ፡ እን
ዘ፡ ዴመድእ፡ ፩፡ ነጋዲ፡ ግብጸዊ፡ ዘስሙ፡ ሙራድ፡ ዘይነገድ፡ እስከ፡ ህንድ፡ ወሶርያ፡ ወግብፅ፡ እ
ምድእ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ዓቢየ፡ መረዋተ፡ ወወሀቦ፡ ለደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ ዘደሰማዕ፡ ድምፁ፡ እምኮሶ፡
እስከ፡ ፀዳ፡ ወበቱ፡ ዴነቅሕ፡ ከተማ፡ በምልዑ፡ እስመ፡ ፈነወ፡ ሎቱ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ወለንድያ፡ እንተ፡

ወዓቃቤ፡ሰዓት፡ዘመን፡ፈስ፡ቅደስ፤ ወብላቴን፡ጌታ፡ዮሐንስ፤ ዕረቅ፡ማሰራሂ፡ዘመን፡ፈስ፡
 ቅደስ፤ ጽራግ፡ማሰራ፡ኪሮስ፤ ወሊቀ፡ማእምራን፡ማሞ፤ ወቄስ፡ሐዴ፡ወልደ፡ሃይማኖት
 ት፤ ወጸሐፊ፡ትእዛዝ፡ሐዋርያ፡ክርስቶስ፤ ወቄርሎስ፤ ወእዛዢቶ፡እዛዢ፡ዘመን፡ፈስ፡ቅደስ፤
 ወእዛዢ፡እሞሊ፤ ሊቃውንት፡ሊቄ፡ማሞ፤ ወሊቄ፡ዝክሮ፤ ከመሊ፡ኢይንሥቱ፡ዘመጽኡ፡እም
 ድሃራ፡ሕንፃ፡ዝንቱ፡ትእዛዝ፡እውጉዙ፡እባ፡ሲኖዳ፡ጳጳስ፤ ወኢጪጌ፡እባ፡ዮሐንስ፤ ወዶኩ
 ን፡ውጉዙ፡ወምቱረ፡እምእባለ፡ቤተ፡ክርስቲያን፤ በእፈ፡እብ፡ወወልድ፡ወመን፡ፈስ፡ቅደስ፡ወበ
 እፈ፡፲ ወ፪ ሐዋርያት፡፪ ወ፪ እርድእት፡ወበእፈ፡እበው፡ርቱዓነ፡ሃይማኖት፡፫፻፡፲ ወ፰ እለ፡
 ተጋብኡ፡በኒቅያ፤ ወ፪፻ እለ፡በኤፌሶን፤ ፻ ወ፶ በቀስጥንጥንያ፤ ወእልቦ፡ዘይክል፡ፈቲሆተ፡
 ዛቲ፡ግዘት፡እለ፡ዴትነሥኡ፡በተዋልጦ፡እዝማን፤ ወጽሐፈተንሂ፡ከመ፡ኢይፍሐቅ፡እመሂ፡
 ንጉሥ፡ወእመሂ፡ንግሥት፤ እመሂ፡ጳጳስ፤ እው፡ኤሊስ፡ቅጳስ፤ ወቀሲስሂ፡እስከ፡ፍጹሃ፡
 ለዓለም፤ እጽሐፍነ፡ዘንተ፡ውስተ፡ክሉ፡እድባራተ፡መጸሐፍት፡ከመ፡ዴኩን፡ስምዓ፡ለዘይ
 መጽእ፡ትውልድ፡ለዓለመ፡ዓለም፡፡፡

17. C.L.a.17.

ንሕነ፡ንጉሡ፡ነገሥት፡ቴዎፍሎስ፡ዘስመ፡መንግሥትነ፡እጽራር፡ሰገድ፡ነዋ፡ሐነዕነ፡ቤተክርስ
 ቲያን፡በስመ፡፫፻፲ ወ፰፡ሊቃውንት፡ወእእላፍ፡መላእክት፡ወነቢያት፡ወስመ፡ደብረ፡ሐመሊ፡
 ኖሳ፡ወኡልቄ፡እህጉርሲ፡ዘወሀብነ፡ለካህናት፡ጉሪዝባ፡ጣህነ፡እርዋ፡ቀላይ፡ክማርዋ፡
 እርፅንሆ፡ሳሚ፡ጃሕጃሕ፡፪ ላ፡፱ ምድር፡ከመንቲ፡የራስ፡ገባያንም፡እንጪት፡ቀረፅ፡ለ
 ቀርባን፡ዘንተ፡ክሉ፡ዘገበረነ፡በእንተ፡ሕይወተ፡ነፍስነ፡ወእለ፡መጽኡ፡እምድሃራ፡ከመ፡
 ኢይንሥቱ፡ዘንተ፡ክሉ፡ዘሠራዕናሁ፡ወዘወሀብናሁ፡ከመ፡ያውጉዙ፡እዝዝናሆመ፡ለእቡነ፡ማ
 ርቅስ፡ወለመምሕረ፡ደብረ፡ሊባኖስ፡ወለሊቃውንተ፡ቤተ፡ክርስቲያን፡ውእቶሙሲ፡እውጉዙ፡
 በቅድመ፡ክሉመ፡መኳንንት፡ወሊቃውንት፡፡፡

18a. C.L.a.18a.

ኡልቄ፡ሀገር፡ዘወሀቡ፡ንጉሡ፡ነገሥት፡እድባር፡ሰገድ፡ዳዊት፡ደማ፡ወመምብ፡ኪንፋዝ፡
 መላጣ፡ዝርፍንት፡የዝርፍንት፡ግብር፡፵ ወቄት፡የመላጣ፡ግብር፡፲፪ ወቄት፡ሸሕ፡ከ፪፻፡ም
 ሴ፡እህል፡ኮዜ፡ምንጣፍ፡ኮዜ፡ማቶት፡፲፪ ምኡት፡፲፪ ለኮ፡በበለሳ፡የደብተራ፡ጪን፡
 ከ፪ ማድጋ፡የመሪ፡ጪን፡ከ፰ ማድጋ፡ቁርጥ፡ገቢ፡ከባለርስት፡ሌላ፡የወደል፡ጋዝ፡፳ የደብ
 ተራ፡፰ የመሪ፡ጪው፡የወመምብ፡እምቶ፡ከቆሎ፡ጋራ፡ነው፡የእፍእ፡ደብተራ፡ሰሞን፡፳ ጪ
 ው፡በበለሳ፡፳ ጪው፡በወመምብ፡፻ ጭቃ፡መሸዋሚያ፡፳ ወቄት፡ካላድ፡ነው፡እላዴ፡የሊቀ፡
 መዘምር፡ነው፡የወመምብ፡የጭቃ፡መሸዋሚያ፡፩ ማድጋ፡ማር፡፹ ጪው፡ነው፡የዴሳ
 ሃ፡መሸዋሚያ፡ወቄት፡ካላድ፡ነው፡የጃንጓ፡እላድ፡ነው፡የቅብራኤል፡እላድ፡ነው፡ያብሲ፡እላድ፡
 ነው፡የብርባከስ፡እላድ፡ነው፡፡፡

18b. C.L.a.18b.

ኡልቄ ÷ ሀገር ÷ ዘወሀቡ ÷ ንጉሡ ÷ ነገሥት ÷ እድባር፡ሰገድ ÷ ለቅደስ ÷ ሚካኤል፡ደማ ÷
 ኪንፋዝ ÷ መላጣ ÷ ዘርፍንት ÷ ፍንጥሮ ÷ ፳፪ ምድር ÷ ከመ ÷ ዴኩኖመ ÷ ለመድኃኒተ፡ነፍ
 ከ ÷ ወዘሥእ ÷ እምእለ ÷ እህጉር ÷ በሥልጣነ ÷ ሴጥሮስ ÷ ወጸውሎስ ÷ ውጉዘ ÷ ለዴኩን ÷
 ወነባቢሃ ÷ ለዛቲ፡ግዘት ፡ እቡነ ÷ ክርስቶዶሉ ፡ ፡ ፡

19. C.L.a.19.

ንፄጥን፡በረድኤተ፡እግዚእብሔር፡ንሕነ፡ንጉሡ፡ነገሥት፡በካፋ፡እንዘ፡ንሠርዕ፡ሥርዓተ፡

እንዘበ፡ቅዱስ፡ጊዮርጊስ፡ወሀብናሁ፡ምድረ፡ቸንከር፡ጉልተተነ። ከ፬፻ ምድር፡፪ቱን፡እጅ፡
 ላባቴ፡ኒቆላዎስ፡ልጆች፡ለ፴፫ ደብተሮች፡ሰዓታት፡ቁመው፡ቅዳሴ፡ቀድሰው፡ዳዊት፡ደግመ
 ው፡ደደሩ፡ብለን፡ሰጠናቸው። በሲሶው፡ግን፡ዓምዳይን፡ሰርጣይን፡ስብሐትን፡ያዪ፡ቆሎውን፡
 የኔ፡የምትገብሩትን፡ላባቴ፡ኒቆላዎስ፡ልጆች፡ገብሩ፡እሉአቸው። ግብሩም፡፲፪ ጫን፡ከ፯
 ማድጋ፡ነው፡ሲሶው፡ጤፍ፡ነው። ፲፪ ማር፡፻ከ፳ ጪው፡ነው፡የ፪ ጥባጋ፡ያምዳይ፡የሰርጣይ፡
 የስብሐት፡ነው። ደግሞ፡በተለየ፡ከምዳይ፡ከሰርጣይ፡ከስብሐት፡ውስጥ፡የወጀድ፡ግብር፡
 ፳ እንጀራ፡፪ዶር፡፪ ጸላ፡የመስቀል፡፳እንጀራ፡፪ ዶር፡፪ ጸላ፡የፋሲካ፡ዶህ፡ያምዳይ፡የሰርጣይ፡
 የስብሐት፡የ፫ ግብር፡ነው፡እቡነ፡ክርስቶዶሉ፡እጪ፡ዘወልደ፡ማርያም፡እንዳይፈርስ፡ገዝ
 ተዋል። ባባቴ፡እሞንዮስ፡አባትነት፡ሹመቱ፡ካባ፡ኒቆላዎስ፡ልጆች፡እደውጣ፡ደብሩም፡ገዳም፡
 ይሁን፡ብለው፡ገዝተዋል። ይህን፡ያፈረሰ፡በሥልጣነ፡ሴጥሮስ፡ወጸውሎስ፡ውጉዝ፡ለይኩን።

20. C.L.a.20.

ንዌጥን፡በእኩቴተ፡እብ፡ወወልድ፡ወመንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡በስመ፡መንግሥትነ፡በካፋ፡ዘተሠመ
 ይነ፡በጸጋ፡ጥምቀት፡እፅመ፡ጊዮርጊስ፡ወወሀብናሃ፡ለቀመጅ፡ኪዳነ፡ምሕረት፡ጉልቋባን፡
 ዓስቦ፡ፋረስ፡ቀመስን፡ለ፶፪ ደብተሮች፡፪ት፡እጅን፡እሪም፡ሰርተዋል፡ለሲሶው፡እብርሃምን፡
 ፍትሐ፡እርያምን፡እፍሮ፡እደግባን፡እዪ፡በካፋ፡ቀድሱ፡ብለዋቸዋል። እቃፋፈው፡እዛዢ፡ተደስ
 ዮስ፡ነዎ፡ባቡነ፡ክርስቶዶሉ፡በእጪ፡ዘወልደ፡ማርያም፡ቃል፡እንዳይፈርስ፡ተገዝቶአል።

21. C.L.a.21.

ነዋ፡ወሀብነ፡ንጉሠ፡ነገሥት፡በካፋ፡ከመ፡ይኩነ፡ለመድኃኒተ፡ነፍስ፡ወሥጋ፡በዛዢ፡ድሜጥ
 ሪስ፡እለቅነት፡ለካህናተ፡ፋፋሌል፡ምሣ፡ይሁን፡ብለው፡የሰጡት፡በምድረ፡ፀለምት፡ናቢ፡ቀ
 በልደን፡በኖሌዊ፡ጭቅነት፡ግብሩ፡ሸሐ፡ከ፯ መቶ፡ጪው፡ሸሐ፡የእለቃ፡፯ መቶ፡የሹማም
 ት፡፲ወ፪ ማስ፡፲ወ፪ ማስ፡፲ወ፪ ካቦ፡ፍንጅል፡የጅ፡መንኻ፡፳ወ፬ ሸማ፡፲ወ፪ የእለቃ፡
 ፲ወ፪ የሹማምት፡ሶስት፡ወቲት፡ታላድ፡የጭቃ፡መሾምያ፡፪ ወቂት፡የእለቃ፡ወቂተ፡ታለ
 ድ፡የሹማምት፡ነው። የምሳ፡ምብያ፡የሰጡት፡ቦታ፡ከግምጃ፡ቤት፡ዶዢ፡ያለውን፡የዳዴው
 ን፡ሰጥተዋል። የካህናት፡የሰጡት፡ቦታ፡ከደረቦ፡እስከ፡፬ እንስሳ፡፻፫ቱ፡ነው፡የ፲ወ፪ ደብተ
 ራ፡ዳረግንደ፡ነው፡ይህን፡ያፈረሰ፡በሥልጣነ፡ሴጥሮስ፡ወጸውሎስ፡ውጉዝ፡ለይኩን፡

22. C.L.a.22.

ነዋ፡ወሀብነ፡ንጉሠ፡ነገሥት፡በካፋ፡ከመ፡ይኩነ፡ለመድኃኒተ፡ነፍስ፡ወሥጋ፡በዛዢ፡ድሜጥ
 ሪስ፡እለቅነት፡ለካህናተ፡ፋፋሌል፡ምሣ፡ይሁን፡ብለው፡የሰጡት፡በምድረ፡ፀለምት፡ናቢ፡ቀ
 በልደን፡በኖሌዊ፡ጭቅነት፡ግብሩ፡ሸሐ፡ከ፯ መቶ፡ጪው፡ሸሐ፡የእለቃ፡፯ መቶ፡የሹማም
 ት፡፲ወ፪ ማስ፡፲ወ፪ ማስ፡፲ወ፪ ካቦ፡ፍንጅል፡የጅ፡መንኻ፡፳ወ፬ ሸማ፡፲ወ፪ የእለቃ፡
 ፲ወ፪ የሹማምት፡ሶስት፡ወቲት፡ታላድ፡የጭቃ፡መሾምያ፡፪ ወቂት፡የእለቃ፡ወቂተ፡ታለ
 ድ፡የሹማምት፡ነው። የምሳ፡ምብያ፡የሰጡት፡ቦታ፡ከግምጃ፡ቤት፡ዶዢ፡ያለውን፡የዳዴው
 ን፡ሰጥተዋል። የካህናት፡የሰጡት፡ቦታ፡ከደረቦ፡እስከ፡፬ እንስሳ፡፻፫ቱ፡ነው፡የ፲ወ፪ ደብተ
 ራ፡ዳረግንደ፡ነው፡ይህን፡ያፈረሰ፡በሥልጣነ፡ሴጥሮስ፡ወጸውሎስ፡ውጉዝ፡ለይኩን፡

23. C.L.a.23.

ንጉሠ፡ነገሥት፡እያሱ፡ዘወሀቡ፡ለቅዱስ፡ፋፋሌል፡ያምስትያ፡ምድር፡በጌመንጌና፡በወምቢ፡
 ፻፲ ምድር። የዜህ፡በለርስቶች፡፲፪ የውስጤ፡፯ የሠርዪ፡እሸብር፡ቴድሮስ፡የገዙቱ፡፪ የሌባ፡
 ንብሌ፡ወልደ፡እየሱስ፡የቴድሮስ፡ልጅ፡የገዛው

24. C.L.a.24.

بسم الآب والإبن والروح القدس الإله الواحد
الله الخلاص

ነዋ፡ ወሀብነ፡ ንሕነ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ሊያሱ፡ ዘስመ፡ መንግሥትነ፡ ብርሃን፡ ሰገድ፡ ወእምነ፡
ንግሥት፡ ንግሥት፡ ወለተ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ብርሃን፡ ሞገሳ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ቍስቋም፡ እን
ተ፡ ሕንጽት፡ በምድረ፡ ላይ፡ ጎንደር፡ ዘተሰምየት፡ ደብረ፡ ፀሐይ፡ እልባስ፡ ዘታሪር፡ ወዘርቤታ
ተ፡ ወማዕጠንታተ፡ ወእክሊላተ፡ ዘወርቅ፡ ወዘብረር፡ ጸሕለ፡ ወጽዋዓ፡ ዘብረር፡ ወመጸሕፍተ፡
ዘብሉይ፡ ወዘሐዲስ፡ ወድሎ፡ ንዋየ፡ ቅድሳት፡ ከመ፡ ይግበሩ፡ በሙ፡ መሥዋዕተ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡
ለመድኃኒተ፡ ነፍስነ፡ ወለካህናቲሃ፡ ወሀብናሆሙ፡ ሀገረ፡ ዘይሰመይ፡ ባጃና፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ዘነበረ፡ በቱ፡
ጋላ፡ ወድሳረ፡ ዘተሠርዓ፡ በቱ፡ ዘቆ፡ ከመ፡ ይኩን፡ ለሲሳኖሙ፡ ወለቀርባንሂ፡ ወሀብነ፡ ሀገረ፡ ዘነ
በረ፡ በእደ፡ ወደዘር፡ ምስለንትያ፡ ዘስመ፡ ጉንትር፡ ለተዝካረ፡ ንጉሥኒ፡ ወሀብነ፡ ሀገረ፡ ዘይሰመ
ይ፡ ከኹ፡ ወለመካንሂ፡ ወለጥነ፡ መካነ፡ ዘይሰመይ፡ ቆፋሮች፡ በቅድመ፡ እቡነ፡ ክርስቶዶሉ፡ ዘሊ
ትዮጳያ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ወበቅድመ፡ እቡነ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ መምህር፡ ዘደብረ፡ ሊባኖስ፡ ወበቅድመ፡
ዓቃቤ፡ ሰዓት፡ ወሊቃውንተ፡ እብያተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ወመምህራን፡ ወመኳንንት፡ ወሊቃውን
ተ፡ ፍትሕ፡ ባሕቱ፡ ከመ፡ ሊያስትቱ፡ ዘንተ፡ ውሂቦተነ፡ እመሂ፡ ንጉሥ፡ እው፡ ንግሥት፡ እመሂ፡
መኳንንት፡ ወእመሂ፡ ሕዝባዊ፡ እውገዙ፡ ድሎሙ፡ ቀሳውስት፡ ወመምህራን፡ ወሊቃውንተ፡
ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ምስለ፡ እቡነ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ክርስቶዶሉ፡ ወምስለ፡ መምህርነ፡ እባ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖ
ት፡ እንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡ እመቦ፡ ዘነሠተ፡ ዘንተ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ በሥልጣነ፡ ጴጥሮስ፡ ወጳውሎስ፡ ወድሎ
ሙ፡ ሐዋርያት፡ ውጉዘ፡ ለይኩን፡

25. C.L.a.25.

ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ዘሥሉስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘሐነዓ፡ ደጅ፡ እዝማች፡ እርከሌድስ፡ በምድረ፡ ቃሪዳ፡
ዘወሀብዋ፡ ምድረ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ብርሃን፡ ሰገድ፡ ዘበጸጋ፡ ጥምቀት፡ ተሰምዮ፡ ሊያሱ፡ ከመ፡
ሊይኝሃእ፡ መኑሂ፡ ወሊየሀብ፡ ለባዕድ፡ እምድሳረ፡ ዘመኖሙ፡ እውገዙ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡ በሥል
ጣነ፡ እበዊነ፡ ሐዋርያት፡ ውጉዘ፡ ይኩን፡ ዘወሀብ፡ ወዘተመጠወ፡ እብ፡ ክቡር፡ መምህር፡ ዘደብረ፡
ሊባኖስ፡ እጪጌ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ወእብ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ጳጳስ፡ እባ፡ ክርስቶዶሉ፡

26. C.L.a.26.

እዪ፡ እዮእስ፡ ይቴጌ፡ ምንትዋብ፡ ለሞየ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ጅማና፡ ዋሻታን፡ ቄሮን፡ ከጥተ
ዋል፡ በዚህም፡ እቡን፡ ይጪጌ፡ ገዝተዋል፡

27. C.L.a.27.

ከጃንግራ፡ ጽዮን፡ የወይዘሮ፡ ማርታንና፡ የወይዘሮ፡ ገነታን፡ ጉልት፡ እዪ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖ
ት፡ ለመስዋዕት፡ የጴጥሮ፡ የጳውሎስ፡ ሰጥተዋል፡ ምድሩ፡ ፻፲፱፡ ዓመት፡ እንደፈርስ፡ እቡ
ነ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ እጪጌ፡ ተስፋ፡ ገዝተዋል፡ በሥልጣነ፡ ጴጥሮስ፡ ወጳውሎስ፡

28. C.L.a.28.

ነዋ፡ ወሀብነ፡ ንሕነ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ዘስመ፡ መንግሥትነ፡ ግራም፡ ሰገድ፡
ወእምነ፡ ንግሥት፡ እባለ፡ ማርያም፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ወልደ፡ ነጉድጌድ፡ እንተ፡
ይእቲ፡ ደብረ፡ ተድላ፡ እልባስ፡ ወማዕጠንተ፡ ጸሕለ፡ ወጽዋዓ፡ ወመጸሕፍተ፡ ወድሎ፡ ንዋየ፡ ቅ
ድሳት፡ ከመ፡ ይግበሩ፡ በሙ፡ መሥዋዕተ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ለመድኃኒተ፡ ነፍስነ፡ ወለካህናቲሃ፡

ወሀብናሆሙ፡ሀገረ፡ዘይሰመዶ፡ጣቂሳ፡ቀዳሚ፡ዘነበሩ፡ቦቱ፡ንብ፡ወካይላ፡ከሰጸ፡በላይ፡ሰማ
ንፃ፡ከሰጸ፡በታች፡ሰማንፃ፡ነፍጥ፡ቀመስ፡ለቀርባንሂ፡እንበስ፤ባምባ፡ዝርጊ፡ጃርጌ።በቅ
ድመ፡እቡነ፡ኖሳብ፡ጳጳስ፡ዘኢትኖጵያ፡ወበቅድመ፡እቡነ፡ይጪጌ፡ተስፋ፡ወበቅድመ፡ዓቃ
ቤ፡ሰዓት፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖት፡ወሊቃውንተ፡እቢያተ፡ክርስቲያናት፡ወመምሕራን፡ወመኳንን
ት፡ወሊቃውንተ፡ፍትሕ፡ባሕቱ፡ከመ፡ኢያስተቱ፡ዘንተ፡ውሂቦተነ፡እመሂ፡ሕዝባዊ፡እውገዙ፡
ዙሎሙ፡ቀሳውስት፡ወመምሕራን፡ወሊቃውንተ፡ቤተ፡ክርስቲያናት፡ምስለ፡እቡነ፡ወጳጳስነ፡
ኖሳብ፡ወምስለ፡መምሕርነ፡እጪጌ፡ተስፋ፡እንዘ፡ይብሉ፡እመቦ፡ዘነሠተ፡ዘንተ፡ሥርዓተ፡በሥ
ልጣነ፡ጴጥሮስ፡ወጳውሎስ፡ወዙሎሙ፡ሐዋርያት፡ውጉዘ፡ለይኩን።እሜን።

29. C.L.a.29.

በስመ፡እብ፡ወወልድ፡ወመንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡፩ እምላክ፡ንሕነ፡ንጉሠ፡ነገሥት፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖ
ት፡ዘስመ፡መንግሥትነ፡ጥበብ፡ሰገድ፡ነዋ፡እዘዝነ፡ወወሀብነ፡ለካህናተ፡በእታ፡ውስተ፡ቤተ፡
መቅደስ፡እንተ፡ተሐንጸት፡በጽንፈ፡ጎንጾር፡ከመ፡ይኩነነ፡ለመድኃኒተ፡ሥጋ፡ወነፍስ፡እህጉ
ረ፡ብዙኃነ፡ዘውእቶሙ፡ምድረ፡ሰረቀርን፡ባሻ፡ቀመስ፡ወዓረቢያ፡ባላምባራስ፡ቀመስ፡ወካልእ
ተ፡ብዙኃተ፡እህጉረ፡ወእምነ፡እሉ፡እህጉር፡ዘበጽሖሙ፡ለእሉ፡ካህናት፡በጅዋና፡፪፻፺፪ ም፡
ተቅራና፡በካብ፡ለያ፡ማርያም፡፮፻፲፪ ም፡ተቅ፡በብራሂላ፡፻፴፪ ምድር፡በጸዳ፡፳፮ ም፡በቢ
ቸመር፡፱፬ ምድር፡በንጫ፡በጃርጃር፡፬፻፶፪ ም፡በገዘው፡፪፻፴፪ ም፡በሰረዋ፡፻፬ ም፡በገረ
ማ፡፪፻፷፬ ም፡በአባጌ፡በፍንጥሮ፡በውምቢ፡፬፻፳ ምድር፡በዳልከው፡፪፻፴፪ ም፡፳ ም፡
አባ፡ኖብ፡በዓረቢያ፡፫፻፶፪ ም፡በዳብሎ፡በሳራባ፡በኳሚ፡፯ ም፡ዘዬ፡ቀመስ፡በሱፍ፡እንቀራ፡
፻፹ ም፡በፎርጌ፡፶ ም፡በፍጥሎ፡፶ ም፡በብርባዙስ፡፶ ም፡በኩሳን፡፶ ም፡በጉም፡ሰረርጌ፡፴ ም፡
በዳልከው፡ትርፍ፡የተገኘ፡፳፪ ም፡ወእለ፡ይመድኡ፡እምድሳሬነ፡ነገሥት፡ወመኳንንት፡ከመ፡
ኢይንሥቱ፡ዘንተ፡ሥርዓተ፡እውገዙ፡ጳጳስነ፡እቡነ፡ኖሳ፡ወመምህረ፡ደብረ፡ሊባኖስ፡ኢጪጌ፡ተ
ስፋ፡ጊኖርጊስ፡ወዙሎሙ፡ሊቃውንተ፡ቤተ፡ክርስቲያን፡ወዓቃቤ፡ሰዓት፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖት፡

30. C.L.a.30.

እዜ፡ሰሎሞን፡በራስ፡መርድ፡ቢትወደድነት፡ለምፆ፡ቅዱስ፡ጊኖርጊስ፡የቄሮ፡ለውጥ፡እጋም፡
ውሀን፡ሰጥተዋል፡እቡን፡ይጪጌ፡ገዝተዋል፡

31a. C.L.a.31a.

ባዜ፡ሰሎሞን፡መንግስት፡በራስ፡ኃይሉ፡እራስነት፡ባርኮን፡ለቤተክርስቲያን፡ማሳደሪያ፡
ድንጉርን፡ያማጌርጊስን፡ሀገር፡የድውያን፡ማረፈያ፡ብለው፡ሰጥተዋል፡የዋልድቦች፡የዳ
ልሽኖች፡የታናሽ፡ቤቶች፡እቡንም፡ሲሉ፡እኔህን፡የነቀለ፡ይህነንም፡የፋቀ፡ውጉዘ፡ለይኩ
ን፡ብለዋል፡

31b. C.L.a.31b.

ጠብላ፡የድቡር፡እምሃ፡ጊኖርጊስን፡ሃገር፡ባርኮን፡ወገራ፡እዜ፡ሰሎሞን፡ሰጥተዋሉ፡ለዋ
ልድቦች፡ለታናሽ፡ቤት፡ዳልሽሃ፡እቡንም፡ገዝተው፡እሉ፡እኔህ፡የነቀለ፡

32. C.L.a.32.

እዜ፡ሰሎሞን፡የድልሽት፡ድኖንን፡ያበካቦቶችን፡ምዝክርነቱን፡ባጸጸሜ፡ቅዱስ፡ሚካኤል፡ሰ
ጥተዋሉ፡የምዝክሩንም፡ብል፡፪ቱን፡ወቄት፡ለስጌይ፡ለዘቢብ፡ለጣን፡ይሁን፡ብለዋሉ፡ይ
ህም፡እንዳደረርስ፡እቡነ፡ኖሳብ፡እጪጌ፡ተስፋ፡ባደበባይ፡ቁመው፡ገዝተዋሉ፤ንጉሥም፡ቢ

ሆን፡ ንግሥትም፡ ብትሆን፡ መኳንንትም፡ ወደዛዝርም፡ ቢሆኑ፡ ቢያፈርሱ፡ ውጉዝን፡ ይሁኑ፡ ብለዋሉ።

33. C.L.a.33.

ኅሉዌ፡ እህጉር፡ ዘወሀቡ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ለካህናተ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ዘእጸጸግ፤ ጸጌንጸ፤ ቅብረዓል፤ ይሳሃ፤ ባላምበራስ፡ ቀመስ፤ ጉያሃ፡ የ፲፬ ጫን፡ እጼ፡ ቅሎ፡ ምድር፤ እብኒ፡ የ፭ ጫ፡ ከደል፡ እጼ፡ ቅሎ፡ ምድር፤ ለመሥዋዕትም፡ የሰጡት፡ ማጫ፡ የ፬ ጫን፡ እጼ፡ ቅሎ፡ ምድር፡ ይህ፡ እንዳይፈርስ፡ እቡነ፡ እኖሳብ፡ እጪን፡ ተስፋ፡ ዓቃብ፡ እሳት፡ ገብረ፡ ሕይወት፤ ገዘቱ፡ ባደባባይ፡ ቁመው፡ ገንደዋ፡ ዋልዋጅ፡ በወልደ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ዝፋን፡ ፬ ጫን፡ ከንዴ፡ ፶ ጪው፡ ለመሥዋዕት፡ የሰጡት፡ ቦታም፡ ካለቃ፡ እቦ፡ ባርያ፡ ቤት፡ በታች፡ ይዞ፡ ከጸፈ፡ ፍሣ፡ ይዞ፡ የወደዛዝፋን፡ ጪምሮ፡ እፄ፡ ዳዊት፡ እስከ፡ ሰጡቱ፡ እስከ፡ እስከ፡ እንሳት፡ እንባ፡ ድረስ፡ ሰጥተዋል፡

34. C.L.a.34.

ሠረቀ፡ ጥቅምት፡ በዘመነ፡ ማርቆስ፡ በ፳፩ ቀን፡ ሰኞ፡ እፄ፡ ተክለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ለመድኃኔ፡ ዓለም፡ ደብተሮች፡ ለባለጥንቱ፡ ለ፳፬ቱ። የጥንት፡ ያፄ፡ ቆልዋቸውን፡ ምድር፡ ጉብያን፡ አዋጅ፡ ነግረው፡ ሰጥተዋቸው፡ ፭ እመት፡ ባይሰፍሩ፡ ባላገሩ፡ በሲሶዋቸው፡ ደብተሮችም፡ በ፪ እጃቸው፡ ሊኖሩ፡ እፄ፡ ይሙቱ፡ ተባብለዋል፡

35. C.L.a.35.

ለበረገጃ፡ ጽዮን፡ ወቄት፡ ካ፭ ጪው፡ ከንቲባው፡ ይበላው፡ የነበረውን፡ እፄ፡ ተክለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያኒቱ፡ ለጣን፡ ለመብራት፡ ይሁን፡ ብለው፡ ሰጥተዋታል፡ ከንቲባም፡ እይድረስባት፡ ብለዋል፡ ይህ፡ የተደረገ፡ በቄስ፡ ነቢየ፡ ልዑል፡ ልጅ፡ በወዳጅ፡ ግብዝና፡ ነው፡ ታዞ፡ ያስየፈ፡ እሳላፈ፡ ኃይሉ።

36. C.L.a.36.

በዘመነ፡ ሉቃስ፡ በ፮፡ ጋር፡ መንግሥት፡ በቸንከር፡ ቀስቋም፡ ያለውን፡ የ፭ ጫን፡ እፄ፡ ቅሎ፡ ለገምጃ፡ ቤት፡ ለመሥዋዕት፡ ይሁን፡ ብሎ፡ እፄ፡ ጋር፡ ሰጥተዋል። በዳባል፡ ገንብ፡ ያለውን፡ ቦታ፡ ላገልጋኖቹ፡ ይሁን፡ ብለው፡ ሰጥተዋል። ይህ፡ እንዳይፈርስ፡ በእጪን፡ ፈልጾስ፡ ቃል፡ በእድባራትም፡ ቀሳውስት፡ ቃል፡ ተገዝቶዋል፡

37. C.L.b.1.

በአኩቱተ፡ እብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወሀበት፡ ሮማን፡ ዘምስለ፡ እሳታ፡ ጃኑቅ፡ ፫ መስፈርያ፡ እምነ፡ ብልላ፡ ለማርያም፡ ይኩን፡ በመዋዕሊሁ፡ ለዳዊት፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወአቃምባ፡ የዋሃ፡ ክርስቶስ፤ ወቮብር፡ ምልካም፤ ወአፈ፡ አቃምባ፡ ዜና፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወመልከኞች፡ ነቢይ፡ ወተክለ፡ ማርያም፡ ወገዛኢሁ፡ ነቢይ፡ ወሹሙሂ፡ እምሐ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወቄስ፡ ገበዙኒ፡ ጸጋ፡ ዘእብ፡ ወመጋብያንኒ፡ ተከሥተ፡ ብርሃን፡ ወዘርእ፡ ማርያም፡ ወመምህርኒ፡ እባ፡ ዘርእ፡ ዳዊት፡ ወሊቀ፡ ካህናት፡ ደቅስዮስ። ወዘንተሰ፡ ጉልተ፡ ዘወሀበት፡ ሮማን፡ ለማርያም፡ ከመ፡ ይኩና፡ ለዳዊት፡ ንጉሥነ፡ መድኃኒተ፡ ነፍሱ፡ ወሥጋሁ፡ ወከመ፡ ያኑሳ፡ መዋዕሊሁ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እብ። ወያግርር፡ ፀሮ፡ ወጸላእቶ፡ ታሳተ፡ መከየደ፡ እገሪሁ፡ እጄን።

38. C.L.b.2.

ሞጣ፡ ጊዮርጊስን፡ ሲተክሉ፡ ወደዘሮ፡ ወለተ፡ ፳፮ ሕል፡ ባፄ፡ እኖእስ፡ መንግሥት፡ በደጋ፡ ጋዳ፡ ጭ

ቃ፡ አይምራባቸው፡ ለሸት፡ ለጎመን፡ ይሁናቸው፡ ብለው፡ ሰጥተው፡ በንጉሥ፡ ቃል፡ አዋጅ፡ አቅ
ስነግረዋል፡ የዚህም፡ መሳክር፡ አዛቢ፡ ባሕርይ፡ ወንበሩ፡ እለ፡ ጉልጥምት፡ አካርዝያስ፡

39. C.L.b.3.

ባጼ፡ ተክለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ መንግሥት፡ በዘመነ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ባለቃ፡ ጼና፡ አለቅነት፡ ፪ ምድር፡ አቤት፡
ወልደ፡ ኪዳን፡ ያባ፡ ላይኩ፡ ሰጥቶአል፡ መሳክርቱ፡ ደብተሮቹ፡ ስለንስሐ፡

40. C.L.b.4.

ሊቄ፡ በትራ፡ ካባ፡ በትሩ፡ የገዙቱን፡ እሪም፡ ወይዘሮ፡ ወለተ፡ ተክሌ፡ ለገብረ፡ እምሳክና፡ ለውር፡
ከብቱ፡ ሰጥተዋል፡ እስኪሞቱ፡ ከዚህ፡ በኋላ፡ ለሩፋኤል፡ ለመስዋዕት፡ ይሁን፡ ብለዋል፡ ቀሳው
ስቱ፡ ገዝተዋል፡ ለሁለቱ፡ እዳይፈርስ፡

41. C.L.b.5.

በዘመነ፡ ማርቆስ፡ ባሄ፡ ጌሉ፡ መንግሥት፡ የወኅኒ፡ ገላውይዎስን፡ ጉልት፡ ሸላጌ፡ ፶ውን፡ ምድ
ር፡ ልጅዎ፡ ወይዘሮ፡ ትዕማር፡ ለፊት፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ለመሥዋዕት፡ ይሁን፡ ብላ፡ ሰጥታለች፡
መሣክርቱ፡ እዘዞች፡ ሊቃውንቱ፡ ናቸው፡ ይህም፡ ከሌላ፡ ጉዳይ፡ እንዳይሆን፡ ተገዝቶአል፡

42. C.L.b.6.

በአሄ፡ ጌሉ፡ መንግሥት፡ ባለቃ፡ ምድላሉ፡ አለቅነት፡ በገብረ፡ ማርያም፡ ሊቀ፡ ደቄና፡ ግራ፡ ጌ
ታ፡ ወልደ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ቤታቸዉ፡ ሲሰሩ፡ ሪጄን፡ ለተስፋ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ኃይሉ፡ ሰጥቼ፡ አለሁ፡ የጌታ፡
መልክ፡ ጼዴቅን፡ እሪም፡ ስለ፡ አላድ፡ ወርቅ፡ ያዝሁትን፡ ለመድኃኔ፡ ዓለም፡ ሰጥቼ፡ አለሁ፡ ብ
ለዋል፡

43. C.L.b.7.

በ፯ ሸሐ፡ ኮ፫፻፲፫ በዘመነ፡ ማቴዎስ፡ ያለው፡ አይቀር፡ ኪዳን፡ ከባ፡ ክንፈ፡ ገብርኤል፡ የተቀበለ
ችውን፡ ስለ፡ አለድ፡ ለለቃ፡ ገብረ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ሰጠች፡ ደይት፡ ድገመልኝ፡ ብላ፡ እስኪ፡ ሞቱ፡ ድረ
ስ፡ ከዘያበኋላ፡ ለሩፋኤል፡ ይሁን፡ በለቃ፡ ፀደለ፡ አለቅነት፡ በሰለሙ፡ ኃይሉ፡ መሪ፡ ጌትነት፡ በፀ
ደሉ፡ ቀኝ፡ ጌትነት፡ በጥበቡ፡ ግራ፡ ጌትነት፡ በተክለ፡ ሥላሴና፡ ወልደ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ቤት፡ ጦበቆች፡ እ
ፅቁና፡ ወበ ፡ እመች፡ በልደ፡ ተክሌ፡ መጪንነች፡ በቀረው፡ ደብተሮች፡ ያውቃሉ

44. C.L.b.8.

መምህራ፡ ወልደ፡ ሩፋኤል፡ ቦታዎን፡ ላ፪ ወቄት፡ ካላድ፡ ለወይዘሮ፡ እንግዳ፡ ወርቅ፡ ሸጠዋል፡ ወ
ርቁ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያኒቱ፡ ርስተዎንም፡ ሰጥተዋል፡ የግራርያውን፡ ባለቃ፡ ገብረ፡ እግዚእ፡ በሊ
ቀ፡ ካህናት፡ ኪዳነ፡ ቃል፡ በቀኝ፡ ጌታ፡ ሕንጻ፡ በግራ፡ ጌታ፡ ውቤ፡ በምሉ፡ ጌታ፡ ትኩ፡ በምሉ፡ ጌ
ታ፡ ገብረ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ በዘርይሁን፡ ወለተ፡ ሩፋኤልና፡ በውደ፡ እንግዳ፡ መልከኝነት፡ በሊህ፡ ሹመ
ት፡ መሳክርቱ፡ ደብተሮቹ

45. C.L.b.9.

በዘመነ፡ ማቴዎስ፡ በንጉሥ፡ ቴዎድሮስ፡ መንግሥት፡ በመላክ፡ ብርሃናት፡ ገብሩ፡ በሊቀ፡ መዘ
ምራን፡ ደስታ፡ ሹመት፡ የሊጋባ፡ ወልደ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ልጅ፡ እሞህይ፡ ብርሌ፡ ሪጃን፡ እኩሌታ
ውን፡ ለሥላሴ፡ እኩሌታውን፡ ለሊቄ፡ ሁሉጌታ፡ ልጅ፡ ለተክለ፡ ማርያም፡ ዘመዴነው፡ ብሎ፡ ሰ
ጡ፡ መሳክርቱ፡ ደብተሮቹ፡ ናቸው፡ ቦች፡ ጎርጌ፡ ነው፡

46. P.L.a.1.

በእኩቱተ፡እብ፡ወወልድ፡ወመንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡እስጌለትኩ፡እነ፡እምደ፡ጽዮን፡ምድረ፡የምባን፡
 ለያግባ፡ጽዮን፡እምእመ፡ነገሠነ፡በ፬ እውራሳ፡እንዘ፡ቃለ፡ሐይ፡የዢንጽራር፡ጌታ፡ኅብተ፡ማ
 ርያም፡ወጌታ፡ተከሥተ፡ብርሃን፡ወጌታ፡እስተእከሉኝ፡ዢን፡እቃምባ፡ተከሥተ፡ብርሃን፡ወቸብ
 ሕር፡ዘርእ፡ማርያም፡ወእረ፡እቃምባ፡ሐብተ፡ጽዮን፡ወመልከኛኝ፡ጌታ፡ብሻሌ፡ወጌታ፡ተከ
 ሥተ፡ብርሃን፡ወሹመ፡ምድረ፡ስመ፡የደረባየ፡እስጌለትኩ፡እነ፡ሐይ፡እምደ፡ጽዮን፡ወምድ
 ረ፡ምንጋሽነኒ፡ለያግባ፡ጽዮን፡ዘምስለ፡ምድረ፡የምባ፡ኅቡረ፡ወግብሩስ፡ለየምባ፡፶ወ፬ ሸማ፡
 ፶መስፈርያ፡እህል፡፲ወ፪ መዓር፡፳ በግዕ፡፯ ዴው፡፮ ፫ ምዓር፤፫ ማጭድ፡ለየምባ፡ግብር፡
 ፫ ዳውላ፤ወበእንተ፡ገመድ፡ወደፍር፤ወቀራናኒ፡፪ምስለ፡መለመጫ፡በስመ፡ሐገ፡እስራኤል፡
 ፬ ዴው፡ወ፬ ቤደ፡ፌጸ፡ለለእውራሳ፡፡፡ ወምድረ፡ምንጋሽነኒ፡ግብሩ፡፶መስፈርያ፡
 እክል፡፲መዓር፤ወበግዕኒ፡እውራሳ፡፲፡ወ፲ሸማ፡፩ ዳውላ፡፩ ማዕጸድ፡፩ ምዓር፤ወቀራ
 ናኒ፡፫ ምስለ፡መለመጫ፡በስመ፡ሐገ፡እስራኤል፡ወዴውኒ፤፬ ወ፬ ቤደ፡ፌጸ፡ለለእውራሳ፡ወስ
 መ፡ሹመ፡ምድረ፡ለምጋሼ፡ቴዎድሮስ፡፡

47a. P.L.a.2a.

ወምድረ፡ገዢነ፡እስጌለትኩ፡እነ፡እምደ፡ጽዮን፡ንጉሥ፡ለጸበለ፡ሚካኤል፡ወግብሩስ፡ለገን
 ዢ፡፫ መስፈርያ፡እክል፡፲መዓር፡፫ ላህም፡ወቀራናኒ፡፫ ወመለመጫኒ፡በበ፳ እሞሌ፡ወዴ
 ው፡ወስፌ፡ወስመ፡ሹመ፡ምድሩስ፡ሹም፡ያግባ፡፡፡

47b. P.L.a.2b.

ጉልተ፡ዘወሀቡ፡ሐይ፡እምደ፡ጽዮን፡ለፀበለ፡ሚካኤል፡፹ መስፈርያ፡፫ ቁራፕ፤፬ እሞሌ፡ዘም
 ስለ፡መለመጫ፡ሰደዴ፡በትንሣኤ፡፫ ሀራባ፡መዓር፡፩ ፍሪዳ፡በኖሐንስ፡፫ መዓር፡፩ ሀራባ፤፩
 ፍሪዳ፡ግብር፡ዘገንጃ፡፡፡ የፀልጎ፡ግብር፡፫ መስፈርያ፡እህል፡፲ወ፪ ሸማ፤፫ ቁራፕ፡፬ ገ
 በጭ፡ሰደዴ፤፬ እሞሌ፡

48. P.L.a.3.

እስጌለትኩ፡እነ፡እምደ፡ጽዮን፡ምድረ፡ዘበኩላ፡ወምድረ፡ሚላዋ፡ለክፍለ፡ሚካኤል፡ወግብሩ
 ሰ፡፲ መስፈርያ፡እክል፡፲ ከራ፡መዓር፡ወ፪ ቀራና፡ምስለ፡መለመጫ፡ወዴውሰ፡ለለወርኑ፡
 ፫ እሞሌ፡፡፡ ወምስለ፡ፌጸ፡ወምድረ፡ድልግናነኒ፡እስጌለትኩ፡ለክፍለ፡ሚካኤል፡ወግብ
 ሩስ፡፶ መስፈርያ፡እክል፡ወ፶ መዓር፡ምስለ፡፫ ቀራና፡ወዴው፡ለለ፡ወርኑ፡፳ እሞሌ፡ወም
 ስለ፡ፌጸ፡ወስመ፡ሱመ፡ምድሩስ፡ዘሚላዋ፡ዘበኩላ፡ደብሩ፡ዘዴብልዎ፡ዘድልጋናሰ፡ሹመ፡ም
 ድሩ፡ዘዴብልዎ፡ባሩት፡እንዘ፡ቃለ፡ሐይ፡ኅብተ፡ማርያም፡ወእስተእከሉኝ፡ዢን፡እቃምባ፡
 ተከሥተ፡ብርሃን፡ወቸብሕር፡ዘርእ፡ማርያም፡ወእረ፡እቃምባ፡ሐብተ፡ጽዮን፡ወመልከኛ
 ት፡ብሻሌ፡ወተከሥተ፡ብርሃን፡ወሊቀ፡ካህናት፡ዘእግዚእብሔር፡እብ፡እምኃ፡ለጽዮን፡ዘቈ
 ላ፡ሊቀ፡ካህናት፡ኖሴፍ፡፡

49. P.L.a.4.

በእኩቱተ፡እብ፡ወወልድ፡ወመንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡ዘወሀቡ፡ምድረ፡ለሊቀ፡ካህናት፡ዴስሐቅ፡በዘመ
 ን፡ቀዳም፡ንጉሥነ፡ሐዝብ፡ናኝ፡በዴነ፡ቡራኤ፡መንግሥት፡ካዕባኒ፡ዘእግዚእብሔር፡እብ፡ለም
 ርሐት፡ምርሐቱኒ፡ወርኃ፡ታሳሣሥ፡፡፡ ግብርሂ፡ዘዴቡብዎ፡፲ወ፪ መስፈርያ፡፲ወ፪ መሐቅ፡እ
 ስከ፡ሕልቀተ፡ዓለም፡ለትውልድ፡ካዕባኒ፡ወሀብኩ፡እነ፡ዘርእ፡ያዕቆብ፡ወስመ፡መንግሥትየ፡
 ቈስጠንጢናስ፡ስመ፡ሠርፁ፡እቡነ፡ምድረ፡ዋቦን፡ለሊቀ፡ካህናት፡ዴስሐቅ፡ዘምስለ፡እኩሁ፡

ዘርእ፡ ሰንበት፡ ወግብረኒ፡ ፲ ወ፩ መስፈርያ። ለመጽሐፈ፡ ሰዓታት። ። በትንሣኤ፡ ራብዓዮስ
ቅለት፡ ፫ መስፈርያ፡ ከክምበት፡ ፪ መስፈርያ፡ ከበስቃ፡ ለገብረ፡ ሌሊት፡ ዝነሉ፡ ለእግዚእብሔር፡
እብ። ካዕበኒ፡ በ፱ በዓላት፡ ከበኒና፡ ወቆዋና፡ ሐይብ፡ ወቅብዕ፡ ለመግደፍት። እምወገርትኒ፡ ዓሣ፡
ዘወትር፡ ሠራዕነ፡ ለሊቀ፡ ካህናት። ።

50. P.L.a.5.

በእኩቴተ፡ እብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወሀብኩ፡ እነ፡ ናእድ፡ በመዋዕልየ፡ ለሊቀ፡ ካህናት፡
ደቅስዮስ፡ ሐሰትነ። ወተምበኮነ። ቅድመኒ፡ ጉልት፡ ምድር፡ ለበስተ፡ እግራ። ወኖምኒ፡ ነሢእየ፡ ወ
ሀብኩ፡ ዐይነ፡ ቡራኬ፡ መንግሥት። ወካዕበኒ፡ በእንተ፡ ሐቱ፡ ኅበ፡ እግዚእብሔር፡ እብ። እስከ፡ ኅ
ልቀተ፡ ዓለም፡ ለደቅስዮስ፡ እምባናኒ፡ ፫ መስፈርያ፡ ምስለ፡ ትርንጎ፡ ወሎሚ፡ ሠራዕኩ፡ ሎቱ።
ካዕበኒ፡ ለሠርፀ፡ ወንጌል። ወለተኩ፡ ለገብረ፡ ሌሊት፡ አለኋትን፡ ምድረ፡ ዘንተ፡ ዘሄደ፡ ወዘተእገለ።

51. P.L.a.6.

በእኩቴተ፡ እብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘወሀቡ፡ ምድረ፡ ሰባነ፡ ለእግዚእብሔር፡ እብ፡ ለመ
ልእክት፡ ንጉሥነ፡ ዘርእ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ በጸጋ፡ እግዚእብሔር፡ ዘተሰምየ፡ ቈስጠንጢናስ፡ ለእምደ፡ ብርሃ
ን። መዳመ፡ ወሀቡ፡ ንጉሥነ፡ ልብነ፡ ድንግል፡ ከመ፡ ደቁም፡ በሥርዓተ፡ ሐዘ፡ ዘርእ፡ ያዕቆብ። ።
ወግብሮሙሂ፡ ለሰባ፡ ፳ ወ፬ መስፈርያ ፤ ፩ ቁረጥ፡ ወ፯ ገበጭ፡ ለለ፡ እውራኁ። ለትንሣኤ፡ ወለዮሐ
ንስ፡ ፲ ወ፪ ደርሆ ፤ ፲ ወ፪ ቅብዕ። ፩ መዓር፡ ወ፪ ዩው። ለ፪ ወርኅ፡ ጸም፡ ለለ፳ በበ፪፻ ዓሣ። ወበክ
ቡራት፡ በዓል፡ ይሰብሩ፡ ዕፀው፡ ወየሐጽሩ፡ ቤቶሙ።

52. P.L.a.7.

ቀዳሚ፡ ጉልት፡ ኋላት፡ ለ፩ ጊዜ፡ ነበረ፡ ለእግዚእብሔር፡ እብ፡ ደብተራ፡ ወኖምሰ፡ ወሀቡ፡ ንጉሥነ፡
ገላውድዮስ፡ ለእባ፡ ዕሄተ፡ ቀርባን፡ ከመ፡ ይኩን፡ መምሕረ፡ ለሰዓታተ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወ፩ ጉራዴ፡ ለእ
ግዚእብሔር፡ እብ፡ ከመ፡ የሀቡ፡ በዘተክህሎ፡ ወለእመ፡ ኢተክሎ፡ ዓሪጎ፡ ከመ፡ ይዕጥን፡ በላዕሎ፡ ወበ
ታሐቱ፡ ከመ፡ ይግበር፡ ጸሎተ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ እቃምባ፡ ወቸብሕር፡ ወአፈ፡ እቃምባ፡ እግዳ፡ ጃን፡ ወመልከ
ኛ፡ ገብረ፡ እምላክ፡ ወቃለ፡ ሐዘ፡ እንቆ፡ ወእዝራ፡ ወኩባ፡ ወሊቀ፡ ካህናት፡ ፋሲለደስ፡ በቅድመ፡ እስ
ራኤል፡ ወእሕዛብ፡ ዘንተ፡ ገብሩ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ገላውድዮስ። ዘሄደ፡ ወዘተእገለ፡ ውጉዘ፡ ለይኩን፡ በልሳነ፡
እብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወበቃለ፡ ዴጥሮስ፡ ወዳውሎስ፡ እሜን። ። ። ወበምድረ፡
እምባ፡ እምድንፋ፡ ወእስከ፡ ድንፈ፡ ድንፋ፡ ወሀብና፡ ሂመተ፡ ለእግዳ፡ እቃምባ፡ ዘቈላ፡ ካህናት፡ ዘ
ካይት፡ ዘመስቀል፡ ዘከተማ፡ ደብሩ፡ ነሎ፡ ባደ፡ ወሀብዎ፡ ለእባ፡ ዕሄተ፡ ቀርባን። ። ።

53. P.L.a.8.

ወእምዝ፡ ዳግመ፡ ሠርፁ፡ ንጉሥነ፡ ገላውድዮስ፡ ዘሊቀ፡ ካህናት፡ ፋሲለደስ፡ ለምድረ፡ ክፍታ፡ ቀዳ
ሚ፡ ነበረ፡ በእደ፡ እቃምባ፡ ዘገበዝ፡ እምባ፡ ምድር፡ ነበረ፡ ወኖምኒ፡ እምድንፋ፡ እስከ፡ ወሰኑ፡ ጸጋ፡
ወሀብዎ፡ በዘመነ፡ ሂመቶሙ፡ ለእሣዕነ፡ ማርያም፡ ዓቃምባ፡ ወቸብሕር፡ ሂ፡ ሐሊብ፡ ወአፈ፡ ዓቃ
ምባሂ፡ ሠርዜ፡ ወመልከኛሂ፡ ገብረ፡ እምላክ፡ ለዝ፡ ምድር፡ ዘሄደ፡ ወዘተእገለ፡ ውጉዘ፡ ለይኩን፡ በእ
ፈ፡ እብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ እስከ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም። እሜን። ። ።

54. P.L.a.9.

ቀዳሚ፡ እባ፡ በስሩ፡ እኒዞ፡ ነበረ፡ ጸንጓን፡ ደብረ፡ ምስለ፡ ብዙኅ፡ ምድሩ፡ ወጉልቱ፡ ለታበተ፡ ሥላ
ሴ፡ ለግሸን፡ መምህር፡ ለዕዝራ፡ ወሀቡ፡ ድኅረ፡ ገላውዴዎስ፡ ንጉሥነ፡ ከደብተራ፡ ምድር፡ ዘተሌለ
የ፡ ቀዳሚ፡ በዳፍንታ፡ ነሎ፡ ዘነበረ፡ ካልዕ፡ መምህር፡ ዘተሰደመ፡ እምድኅራሁ፡ ኢዴግባዕ፡ እንበለ፡
ደቂቁ።

55. P.L.a.10.

በረድኤታ፡ለእግዝእትነ፡ማርያም፡ተጽሕፈ፡ዝንቱ፡መጽሐፍ፡በትእዛዘ፡ንጉሥ፡ሠርፀ፡ድንግል፡ዘተሰምዮ፡መላክ፡ሰገድ፡ንሕነ፡ንቤ፡ከመዝ፡እምእመ፡ነገሥነ፡በ፲ወ፯ ዓመት፡እንዘ፡ነሐውር፡ለፀቢዓ፡ፀርነ፡ይስሐቅ፡ወሀብነ፡ምድረ፡ጉሩ፡ለእባ፡ብእቤ፡እሚእብሔር፡ወለእባ፡ለባዊ፡ክርስቶስ፡ከመ፡ይኩነነ፡ለመድኃነተ፡ነፍስ፡ወሥጋ፡እንዘ፡ውስጥ፡ዓዛዝ፡በኃይለ፡ሥሉስ፡ወቀኝ ፅ፡ጌታ፡በናድሌዎስ፡ወግራ፡ጌታ፡ሳንኮሪስ፡ወሊቀ፡ማዕምራን፡ነባራ፡ማርያም፡ወሊቀ፡ደብተራ፡ፍተ፡ድንግል፡ወመዘምራን፡ጌታ፡መሎ፡ወእባ፡ዘድንግል፡በትረ፡ያርክሄ፡ለሊሁ፡ድራዝ፡ማሰራ፡እባ፡ተክለ፡ወልድ፡ወደብተራ፡ጌታ፡ጌራ፡ወተክለ፡ሃይማኖት፡ወቤት፡ጠባቂ፡ጌታ፡እባ፡ዘሚካኤል፡ሊቀ፡መጽዓኔ፡ማርያም፡ናዜ፡ወቃቋታች፡በረከት፡ከመዝ፡ንቤ፡እመቦ፡ዘይበውእ፡ኃብ፡ይእቲ፡ምድር፡እመሂ፡መኩንን፡ወስዮም፡በጌ፡ምድር፡እዝማች፡ወኮሉ፡ዘተንሥእ፡በዘመን፡በረኪበ፡ገድ፡ቅድመ፡ንጉሥ፡ወእመሂ፡መነኮስ፡ካልዕ፡ዘንተ፡ቃለነ፡ዘተዓደወ፡ፀርነ፡ይኩን፡ወዓላዊ፡መንግሥትነ፡ወዓዲ፡ውጉዝ፡ለይኩን፡በልሳነ፡ጴጥሮስ፡ወጸውሎስ፡ወበእፈ፡፫፻፲ወ፰ ርቱዓነ፡ሃይማኖት፡ብርሃናተ፡ዓለም፡ወፈድፋደስ፡በእፉሃ፡ለእግዝእትነ፡ማርያም፡ወበእፈ፡ዚእነሲ፡ውጉዝ፡ውቁይ፡ወምቱር፡ወውዱእ፡እማህበረ፡ክርስቲያን፡ወፍሉጥ፡ከመ፡እርዮስ፡ወንስጥሮስ፡ወልዮ፡ወይሁዳ፡ረሲዕ፡እሜን፡ወዘደምሰሰሂ፡ለጽሕፈቱ፡ለይኩን፡ለይኩን።

56. P.L.a.11.

እዜ፡እያሱ፡እድያም፡ሰገድ፡በነገሡ፡በ፲፪ ዓመት፡ደብረ፡ብርሃን፡ሲሰራ፡ማርያም፡በጎ፡ለራስ፡የማነ፡ክርስቶስ፡በሺሕ፡ወቄት፡ካንድ፡ቀለበት፡የሸጠችውን፡፯፻፷፮ ምድር፡በሰቀልት፡በባለንጉብ፡ለደብረ፡ብርሃን፡፷ ምድር፡፲፪ ቦታ፡ሲነሳለት፡ለራስ፡ወዳጄ፡ደብረ፡ብርሃን፡ይቀድስበት፡፫ ጫን፡ስንዴ፡፱ ጪው፡ለዕጣን፡እየሰጠ፡ብለዋል። እዜ፡ቆሎ፡እይድረስበት፡ብለዋል። ለዚሁ፡ለሰቀልትና፡ለባለንጉብ፡ምዝክሩ፡ደብረ፡ብርሃን፡ብለዋል። በ፳ው፡ምድር፡በ፲፪ ቦታ፡የተሰራ፡የግራ፡ደብተሮች፡ናቸው። ይህ፡እንዳይፈርስ፡ባቡነ፡ማርቆስ፡ቃል፡በገዳማቱ፡በመጉሩ፡በወርቅ፡ለብሐ፡መምሕራን፡ተወግዞእል። ዘንተሰ፡ዘነሠተ፡ወዘተዓደወ፡ይኩን፡ክፍሉ፡ምስለ፡እርዮስ፡ወንስጥሮስ፡ወመቅደንዮስ፡ብሂሎሙ፡እውገዙ፡ኮሎሙ፡እልቆሞሳት፡ወቀሳውስት፡እሜን።

57. P.L.a.12.

ገሊላ፡እቡነ፡ዘካርያስን፡ስመው፡እዜ፡እያሱ፡በታሕሣሥ፡በ፯ ቀን፡ሲመለሱ፡የሰራባን፡ምድር፡እዜ፡እያሱ፡ሲያድሉ። የሰራባ፡ምድር፡፱፻ ነው። ከዚህ፡ሲሰውን፡ከፍሎ፡፫፻ ምድር፡ለእስድሮስ፡እዚ፡ቆሎ፡ይገብር፡ብሎ፡ሰጡ፡፯፻ ምድር፡ላምስትያ፡ለመልእክ፡ብርሃናት፡ቀውስጦስ፡ከሹማምት፡ጋራ፡ሰጡ። ከ፯፻ ምድር፡ውሥጥ፡፯ው፡ምድር፡፱ ጫን፡እዜ፡ቆሎ፡በብርት፡ለለቃ፡ላሊቀ፡መዘምራን፡ይስፈራ፡ጎንደር፡እግብቶ፡ብለዋል። በበዋ፡የተሰራ፡ደብተሮች፡በጪገን፡፲ በ፳ ናሆይ፡፲ በሰቀልት፡፲ የምድሩ፡ድምር፡፪፻፵ ነው፡ላንዴ፡ላንዴ፡ደብተራ፡፪፻ ነው። ቦታው።

58. P.L.a.13.

በዘመነ፡ዮሐንስ፡ንጉሥ፡ነገሥት፡በካፋ፡ለበጅርወርወንድ፡ሰፎንያስና፡ለእጥባተ፡ድንግል፡በቀሐሪ፡ያለውን፡ምድር፡ሁሉ፡ማርያም፡ደብር፡ይቀድሱበት፡ብለው፡ሰጥተዋል፡መሳክርቱ፡ሊቃውውንቱ፡ናቸው፡ይሕ፡እንዳይፈርስ፡እቡነ፡ማርቆስ፡ይጪጌ፡ዘወልደ፡ማርያም፡ገዝተዋል፡

59. P.L.a.14.

እፄ፡በከፋ፡በደሬ፡ምድር፡ደፈጫ፡ኪዳነ፡ምሕረት፡ሲሰሩ፡፺ ምድር፤የማር፡የደር፡ቦታ፡፱ ምድር፡የጭቃ፡ጨምሮ፡የደግ፡እቡቂር፡ደብረ፡ብርሃን፡ደቀድሱበት፡ብለዋል፡ደህ፡እንዳደረርስ፡እቡነ፡ክርስቶስ፡ደወሉ፡እጩ፡ዘወልደ፡ማርያም፡ገዝተዋል፡መሳክርቱ፡ሌቄ፡ክፍሌ፡እዛዢ፡ተደስዮስ፡ደብተሮቹ፡ናቸው።

60. P.L.a.15.

ነዋ፡ወሀብናሁ፡ንሕነ፡ንጉሠ፡ነገሥት፡እያሱ፡ዘስመ፡መንግሥትነ፡ብርሃን፡ሰገድ፡ወእምነ፡ንግሥት፡ወለተ፡ጊዮርጊስ፡ዘተሰምየት፡ብርሃን፡ሞገሳ፤ለእርከሌድስ፡ዘሰመደናሁ፡ደጅ፡እዝማቸ፡ምድረ፡ቃርዳ፤ዘሀለወት፡በእዴሁ፡እስመ፡ደእቲ፡ርስቱ፡ወርስተ፡ውሉደ፡ከመ፡ደቀድስ፡ባቲ፡በ፫ እብያተ፡ክርስቲያናት፡ዘሐነጸመ፡ዘውእቶመ፡መቅደስ፡ሥባሴ፡ወመቅደስ፡ኖሐንስ፡መጥምቅ፡ወመቅደስ፡ኪዳነ፡ምሕረት፡ከመሂ፡እዴንሣእ፡እምእዴሁ፡እመኒ፡ንጉሥ፡ወመኰንን፡እውጉዙ፡በትእዛዝነ፡ክቡር፡ጳጳስ፡ዘኢትዮጵያ፡እቡነ፡ክርስቲያኑ፡ወዓቢደ፡መምህር፡ዘደብረ፡ሊባኖስ፡እጩ፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖት። ወካልእን፡ቀሳውስት፡እንዘ፡ደብሉ፡ዘተእገለ፡ዛተ፡ምድረ፡እምእዴሁ፡ለእርከሌድስ፡ወእምእደ፡ውሉደ፡በሥልጣነ፡ጴጥሮስ፡ወጳውሉስ፡ውጉዘ፡ለዶኩን።

61. P.L.a.16.

ለርእሰ፡ደብር፡ሱሬ፡በብናፋ፡እፄ፡እያሱ፡ዴቴ፡ምንትዋብ፡ቀስቋም፡ደቀበት፡ብለው፡የስጡዎ፡ያራት፡ሸማ፡ምድር፡ነው፡እንደ፡ሸማ፡የሹም፡ፍሬያ፡ከምድሩ፡እንደ፡ሸማ፡የሹም፡ዴማኖ፡ከምድሩ፡እንደ፡ሸማ፡የሹም፡ዕንቆ፡ከምሩ፡እንደ፡ሸማ፡የሹም፡በሶሬ፡ከምሩ፡ከምሩ፡ከመ፡ዴኩኖመ፡ለመድረኒተ፡ሥጋ፡ወነፍስ፡ወመንግሥቶመ፡የሐድስ፡ደህን፡ያፈረስ፡ውጉዘ፡ለዶኩን፡በሥልጣነ፡ጴጥሮስ፡ወጳውሉስ

62a. P.L.a.17a.

የጉብ፡ገብርኤልን፡የሬስ፡ጉንዴን፡ምድር፡እፄ፡እያሱ፡ባሳላፈ፡እሺቴ፡እየየሚ፡ቅድስ፡ሚካኤል፡ቀድሶ፡ዴደርበት፡ብለዋል፡፫ ጫን፡ከደል፡ስንዴ፡፱ ጪው፡ለመሥዋዕት፡ዴስጥ፡ብለዋል፡ያቤቶ፡እርሴንም፡ምድር፡፪፻፱ውን፡ለመሥዋዕት፡ዴሁን፡ብለው፡ሰጥተዋል፡ዴህም፡እንዳደረርስ፡እቡንም፡እጩንም፡እውገዘዋል።

62b. P.L.a.17b.

በልደታም፡የምቀድሱበት፡እ፫ ምድር፡በገረማ፡ባለርስቱ፡እውደኬዎስ፡፳ ምድር፡በዳልኮ፡ባለርስቱ፡ኩርፋድ፡ባሳፈ፡እሸቴ፡ዴቀድስበት፡ብለው፡ሰጥተዋሉ፡እፄ፡እያሱም፡ዴቴ፡ም፡የታዘዘውም፡ሥጋ፡መልካኛው፡እውደኬዎስ፡ወበሩ፡እዛዢ፡ባህርዴ፡በመምር፡ዘሚካኤል፡እለቅነት።

62c. P.L.a.17c.

፳ ምድር፡ባባጌ፡ባለርስቱ፡ገብረ፡ወልድ፡፳ ምድር፡በዳልኮ፡ባለርስቱ፡ኩርፋድ፡እፄ፡እያሱ፡ልደታ፡ቀድስበት፡ብለው፡ባሳላፈ፡እሸቴ፡የሰጠዎ፡በመምር፡ዘሚካኤል፡እለቅነት፡የታዘዘው፡ሥጋ፡መልካኛው፡እውደኪዮስ፡ወምበሩ፡እዛዢ፡ባሕርዴ፡

63. P.L.a.18.

በዘመነ፡ሉቃስ፡ባዩ፡እያሱ፡መንግሥት። በመልእክ፡ብርሃናት፡ወልደ፡ሩፋኤል፡ኾመት፡
በሊቀ፡መዘምራን፡ተላፈኖስ፡ኾመት፡ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ወልደ፡ስላሄ፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡እቢሳ፡ቤት፡ጠ
ባቀ፡ጌቶች፡ንዋየ፡ሚካኤል፡ወልደ፡ገብርኤል፡ናቡቴ፤እመች፡እባ፡እንቀጾ፤ምህርካ፤
እሥራተ፡ቃል፤እባ፡ወልደ፡እየሱስ፤እቃ፡ጠባቂ፡የግዜር፡ከብት፤በወደና፡ምድር፡በስላ
ሙ፡ባጅ፡ገደ፡እጅ፡በነበረውና፡በሊቀ፡መዘምራን፡ድሜጥሮስ፡እጅ፡በነበረው፡ለደጃዝ
ማች፡እርከሌድስ፡እዩ፡በሰጠዎ፡ልጃዎ፡ወደዘሮ፡ወላንያ፡በደብረ፡ብርሃን፡ቀድሳ፡ትደር
በት፡ብለዋሉ፡በሊቀ፡መዘምራን፡ድሜጥሮስ፡ምድር፡እቤቶ፡ባስሌ፡ነው፡በሲሰውም፡
ባስሌ፡ደቀድስበት፡ብለዋል፡

64. P.L.a.19.

ከበዚሮንድ፡ወልደ፡ዳዊት፡ዴቴጌ፡ምንትዋብ፡የገዙትን፡ቦታ፡በ፲፪ ወቄት፡ላደባባደ፡እየሱስ፡
ደብተሮች፡ሰጥተዋሉ፡ለጽራ፡ማሰራ፡ዋሴ፡ለጽራ፡ማሰራ፡ወልደ፡ጌርጊስ፡ለትርሲት፡
ለሳውል፡ለእባ፡ግርማ፡ለዘታዖስ፡ለግብረ፡ድንግል፡ለእባ፡ምካ፡ለእባ፡ነጮ፡ለመርቆሬዎስ፡
ለእባ፡ሕፃኑ፡ላደራ፡ለእዮሴ፡ለናቡቴ፡ለክንፈ፡ገብርኤል፡ላዛዢ፡ወልደ፡ገብርኤል፡፩ ቦታ፡ለዘ
ወልደና፡ለእባ፡ወልደ፡ጌርጊስ፡ልጅ። ዴሳነን፡ነገር፡ያፈረሰ፡በሥልጣነ፡ጴጥሮስ፡ወሰውሎስ፡
ውጉዘ፡ለዶኩን።

65a. P.L.a.20a.

በዘመነ፡ዮሐንስ፡በእዩ፡እዮሳስ፡መንግሥት፡በዴቴጌ፡ምንትዋብ፡ንግሥት፡በመቤት፡ቀርኔ፡
ምድር፡ጋሻ፡ጃግራ፡ተሰርቶበት፡ነበር፡፰ ምድር፡በሰራባ፡ጋሻ፡ጃግራ፡ነቅለው፡ለባንበራስ፡
እሸቴ፡ደብረ፡ብርሃን፡ደቀደስበት፡ብለው፡ሰጡ፡እዩም፡ዴቴጌም፡የታዘዘው፡የሻለቃ፡እውደ
ኬዎስ፡ሥጋ፡መልከኛው፡ወበሩ፡ሊቄ፡ዴስዴያስ፡በኾመተ፡መላከ፡ብርሃናት፡ክፍለ፡ማርያ
ም፡ሊቀ፡መዘምራን፡ተላፈኖስ፡

65b. P.L.a.20b.

በሰራባ፡፰ ምድር፡የመቤት፡ቅርኔ፡የነበረውን፡ዴቴጌ፡ለባላምበራስ፡እሸቴ፡ደብረ፡ብር
ሃን፡ቀድስበት፡ብለው፡ሰጥተዋሉ፡የታዘዘው፡የሻለቃ፡እውደኪዮስ፡ሥጋ፡መልከኛው፡ወ
ምበሩ፡ሊቄ፡እሳዴያስ፡

66. P.L.a.21.

በዘመነ፡ማቴዎስ፡እዩ፡እዮዓስ፡በነገሡ፡ባ፲ዓመት፡እዩም፡ዴቴጌም፡ስለ፡ቀስቋም፡ቦታዎ፡
፰ ምድር፡ባዩ፡ገመድ፡ከዳልሶ፡የሊቄ፡ኃዴሉ፡ሰጥተዋሉ፡ቀስቋም፡ደቀድሱበት፡ብሎዋሉ፡
ግብሩንም፡ፍቄአለኙ፡ብሎዋሉ፡ዴህ፡ግን፡የሆነ፡በመልእክ፡ፀሃዴ፡ቴዎድሮስ፡አለቅነት፡በሊ
ቀ፡ጠበብት፡በትሩ፡ሹመት፡በደጅ፡እዝማች፡ጌሹ፡ባሸነት፡በዘጌርጊስ፡ገንትነት፡ባምኃ፡ፍጥ
ቅነት፡በነቢዩ፡ምስለንነት፡ዴህንም፡ታዘው፡ያስጸፋ፡ራስ፡ወልደ፡ልውል፡ነዎ፡ምድሩ፡ግን፡የ
ሊቀ፡መኳስ፡ማርቆስ፡ነበረ፡መሃክርቱ፡ሊቄ፡በትራ፡ሊቄ፡እሳዴያስ፡ሊቄ፡ገብሩ፡ሊቄ፡ፋሲ
ሎ፡አዛዢ፡ዮናታን፡አዛዢ፡አቢሰሎም፡አዛዢ፡ስንቆ፡አቢሰሎም። ። ። ። ።

67. P.L.a.22.

በዘመነ፡ማቴዎስ፡በመልእክ፡ፀሐዴ፡ቴዎድሮስ፡በሊቀ፡ጠበብት፡በትሩ፡ሹመት፡በምናቆስ፡
፪ ጋሻ፡እዩ፡በካፋ፡ለወደዘሮ፡ወላንያ፡ሰጥተው፡ነበር፡ወደዘሮ፡ወላንያ፡ለዴቴጌ፡ምንትዋብ፡

ስጡ፡ ዴቴ፡ ምንትዋብ፡ ለሸለቃ፡ እውደክኖስ፡ ከተጥተዎሉ፡ በቀስቀም፡ ዴቀድስበት፡ ብለዎ
ሉ፡ ዴህን፡ ያፈረስ፡ በሥልጣነ፡ ሴጥሮስ፡ ወጸውሉስ፡ ውጉዘ፡ ለዴኩን።

68. P.L.a.23.

በመልእክ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ቴዎድሮስ፡ በሊቀ፡ ጠብብት፡ በትሩ፡ ሹመት፡ ዳመቶችን፡ የናቱን፡ የወይ
ዘሮ፡ እመተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ን፡ ጉልት፡ ርብን፡ ከ፲ አንድ፡ የተነሳውን፡ ዴቴ፡ ምንትዋብ፡ በቀስ
ቀም፡ ዴቀድስበት፡ ብሎ፡ ሰጥተዋሉ፡ ለእጋፋሪ፡ ክንፉ፡ ዴህ፡ እንዳይፈርስ፡ ተገዝቶ፡ እለ፡
በሥልጣነ፡ ሴጥሮስ፡ ወጸውሉስ፡ ውጉዘ፡ ለዴኩን፡ ደግሞ፡ ሟውን፡ ምድር፡ የወምበርጌን፡

69. P.L.a.24.

በዘመነ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ባሄ፡ ኢዮአስ፡ መንግሥት፡ በራስ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ራስነት፡ በከንቲባ፡ ከብቴ፡ ከን
ቲብነት፡ በሊቄ፡ ፋሲሎ፡ ተቋደሪነት፡ ፲፫ ምድር፡ ባንጫ፡ ፫ ምድር፡ በጅዋና፡ በዚህ፡ በርስተ
ዎ፡ ላቤቶ፡ ወርቁ፡ ልደታ፡ ቀድስበት፡ ብለው፡ እሄ፡ ኢዮአስ፡ ሰጥቶዎአሉ፡ መቀደሰዎም፡ በእ
ለቃ፡ ጳጌጠሌዎን፡ ሹመት፡ ነው፡ ዴሕነን፡ ያፈረሰ፡ በሥልጣነ፡ ሴጥሮስ፡ ወጸውሉስ፡ ውጉዘ፡
ዴኩን። ። ።

70. P.L.a.25.

ንሕነ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ኢዮአስ፡ ወንግሥት፡ ወለተ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ናሁ፡ ወሀብናሁ፡ ለደጃዝማች፡
እሸቴ፡ እምብሔረ፡ እገው፡ ደሮምን። ጽማማን፤ ሶሪትን። እነጉሣን። ዲኅን። መንገሃን። ቻጃን።
ኩንዘናን። አልችን። ቻጃ፡ ሙሁን። ሙልን። ዙብትን። ናጽጋሪን። ጎመርን። ቀላ፡ የጃዎች፡
እገር። ሳኅሳን። እንባበራን። ደገኃን። ጀመራን። ጽኩን። ባሪቶችን። ደረብን። የደዢዝማች፡
ወረኛ፡ ልጃች፡ እካፍለው፡ ካ፲ አንድ፡ ያነሱትን፡ እገር፡ ጉደራን። ባርዛፍላን። ከመ፡ ዴቀድስ፡
በሙ። በታቦተ፡ ቀስቀም፡ እንተ፡ ዴእቲ፡ ደብረ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ምክንያተ፡ ውሒቦትነሰ፡ ፍዳ፡ ዘመቻሁ፡
መንገለ፡ ጋላ፡ ወቀተሎሙ፡ ለጅዳ፡ ወጮሌሃ፡ ወእእመኖሙ፡ ለተሎሙ፡ ሰብእ፡ ጋላ።

71. P.L.a.26.

እሄ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ በነገሡ፡ በ፬ ዓመት፡ ደጃዝማች፡ አድገሳ፡ ታዘው፡ መጽተው፡ ፫ ም
ድር፡ ተቅራና፡ ለሙክታርና፡ ለኑሩ፡ ሰጥተዋል፡ እሉ፡ ልደታ፡ ያገልግሉበት፡ ምድሩ፡ እረብያ፡
ባለርስቱ፡ ኮርጃቴ፡ መሳክርቱ፡ ደብተሮች፡ ተቀባዩ፡ እለቃ፡ ዘሚካኤል።

72. P.L.a.27.

በዘመነ፡ ማርቆስ፡ እሄ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ በነገሡ፡ በ፭ ዓመት፡ ጀዋና፡ ፳፪ ምድ፡ ከነቦታ
ው፡ ባታ፡ ቀድሸበት፡ ብለው፡ ሰጠዎ፡ ለወይዘሮ፡ ምስራች፡ ባለርስቶች፡ ዋሴና፡ እደሩ፡ ደግሞ
ም፡ እሉ፡ መሳክርቱ፡ ሊቄ፡ በትራ፡ እዛጋ፡ እቤሎም፡ ሌቄ፡ ኮከበ፡ ልዳ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ሊቄ፡ ኃይሉ፡
ወድመዎ፡ ሊቄ፡ ገብሩ፡ እለቃ፡ ዋሴ፡ ብርጮቅ፡ ዮሐንስ። ልደታ፡ ክንፉ፡ ገንታ፡ ክንፉ።

73. P.L.a.28.

እሄ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ በነገሡ፡ በ፯ ከ፫ ወር፡ በዘመነ፡ ማቴዎስ፡ በእመኪና፡ እቤቶ፡ ሰደፍ፡
በተወጉ፡ ጊዜ፡ የደም፡ ዋጋ፡ የ፳ውን፡ ሸማ፡ የወሳኒ፡ እዛጋ፡ ነቀሎ፡ እጉል፡ መልዛን፡ ያቤቶ፡
ሰደፍና፡ ያቤቶ፡ ደፈጮ፡ መደኃኔ፡ ዓለምን፡ ታቦት፡ ተክላችሁ፡ ቀድሳችሁ፡ ብሉ፡ እሉ፡ በእታ
ም፡ ቀድሱ፡ ብሎ፡ እሉ፡ ለዚሳ፡ ታቦት፡ ገን፡ በእታ፡ ምዝክር፡ ትሁነው፡ እሉ፡ በራስ፡ እያዳር፡
ራስነት፡ በእዛጋ፡ ኢዮአስ፡ እዛጋነት፡ ነው፡ ዴኅን፡ የፋቀ፡ በሥልጣነ፡ ሴጥሮስ፡ ወጸውሉስ፡

ውጉዝ፡ያድርገው፡ብለዋል፡እቡንና፡እጪጌ። ።

74. P.L.a.29.

በሳልድ፡የ፪ ጫን፡ያዴ፡ቆሎ፡የዴቴ፡ኤሳርያን፡ምድር፡ለመምሕራ፡ወልደ፡እቢብ፡በዘመነ፡
ሉቃስ፡እዴ፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖት። በቅዱስ፡ገብርኤል፡ደቀድሱ፡ብለው፡ሰጥቶአሉ፡ዴህም፡
እንዳደረርስ፡እቡነ፡ኖሳብ፡እጪጌ፡ተስፋም፡ውጉዝ፡ከመ፡እርዮስ፡ዴሁን፡ብለው፡ገዝተ
ዋል፡ባለቃ፡ዳሪሁን፡አለቅነት፡በቅንዋት፡ኮንቲብነት፡ቸመኒ፡ብርከ፡ዳዊትንም፡እዴ፡በፈ
ትዎ፡እልደርስም፡እሰኝቶ፡በሊቃውንቶችዎ፡እስፈጽመውታል። ያዴንም፡ጸላትዎን፡ያድክ
ም፡እድሜዎን፡ያርዝም፡ነፍስዎን፡ዴማር፡እቡነ፡ዘበሰማያት።

75. P.L.a.30.

ላሄን፡፲፩ ደምሳሽ፡ላመ፡ድርኒ፡አግዳሚያ፡እምባ፡ራስ፡ክፍሎ፡የዜህ፡ግብሩ፡፴፭ ወቄ
ት፡ነው፡ባእዴ፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖት፡መንግሥት፡በራስ፡ጉሹ፡ራስ፡ነት፡በራስ፡እያዳር፡ደጅ፡
እዝማችነት፡በእዝማች፡ወልደ፡ዳዊት፡ምዝክርነት፡ያቤቶ፡እቤሴሎም፡ጉለቱለዎ፡ታዘ
ው፡ያስጸፋ፡እዝማች፡ወልደ፡ዳዊት፡ነዎ፡ያዳርቃዴ፡ግብሩ፡ልጅ፡ያቤቶ፡እቤሴሎም።
ጸፈው፡ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ዋሴ፡ነው፡

76. P.L.a.31.

እዴ፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖት፡ለራስ፡እያዳር፡እቡነ፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖትን፡ትከል፡ብሎ፡የሰጠዎ፡ከ
ዛቀና፡ከጉበና፡ከቋህር፡ከዋዛጌ፡ከጋምጥ፡ከማያና፡ከቋሮ፡፪፳፭ ጋሻ፡ነው፡፹፭፡ገመድ፡ከ
ፎገራ፡ነው፡ዴህን፡ያፈረሰ፡በዴጪጌና፡ባቡን፡ቃል፡ግዝት፡ነው፡

77. P.L.a.32.

እዴ፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖት፡የጎለቱለዎ፡በላቃ፡ዳሪሁን፡አለቅነት፡በዘመነ፡ማቴዎስ፡ጳጵ፡ሰ
ርቶ፡እቤቶ፡ጥርፓደር፡ያስጉለቱት፡በከነ፡እነብሴን፡ኖናክንደስ፡ቀመስ፡ያስቀድስበት፡ዳኛ፡
ኩራተ፡ርእሱ፡ዴሁን፡ግብሩ፡ዘመቻ፡በሆነ፡ጊዜ፡የኩራተ፡ርእሱ፡ወቄት፡የተሸነግ፡ዴህን፡
ያፈረሰ፡ውጉዝ፡ለዴኩን።

78. P.L.a.33.

በ፱፻ወ፪፻ወ፱ ዓመተ፡ዓለም፡በዘመነ፡ማርቆስ፡በመልእክ፡ገነት፡መጽሔት፡አለቅነት፤ ዳብ
ሎን፡እደርጅሃን፡ሳርባተሳን፡እለዚኾን፡፫ቱን፡እገር፡እዴ፡ሰሎሞን፡ለወደዘሮ፡ሣህሉ፡ሰጥ
ተዋሉ፤ የ፫ቱን፡እገር፡እዴ፡ቆሎ፡ምረው፤ ፫ ጫን፡ግብር፡ለቅዱስ፡ሚካኤል፡ዴስጡ፡ብሎ፡
ዋሉ፡ለሸጫን፡ማሞ፡ልጅ፡ወደዘሮ፡ሣህሉ፡

79. P.L.a.34.

በ፱፻ወ፪፻ወ፱ ዓመተ፡ዓለም፡በዘመነ፡ሉቃስ፡በታላሣሥ፡በ፯ ቀ፡ሰኛ፡በመልእክ፡ፀሐይ፡
ሮብእም፡በሊቀ፡ጠበብት፡ገብረ፡ሥሉስ፡ሹመት፡እመኖ፡፳፩ ጋሻ፡የፈርፈርን፡፩ እዝማ
ች፡ጋሻው፡፳፪ት፡በቀስቋም፡ደቀድሱበት፡ብሎ፡ለወደዘሮ፡ሣህሉ፡እዴ፡ሰሎሞን፡ሰጥ
ቶዋሉ፡በራስ፡ኃይሉ፡ራስነት፡ዴህ፡እንደአደፋቅ፡ተገዝቶአል፡

80. P.L.a.35.

በዘመነ፡ሉቃስ፡ባዴ፡ሰሎሞን፡መንግሥት፡በራስ፡ኃይሉ፡ራስነት፡በመልእክ፡ብርሃናት፡እቤ

ሴሎም፡ አለቅነት፡ በገላን፡ ለደጋፊ፡ ማሞ፡ ልጅ፡ ለወይዘሮ፡ ወለተ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ ትቀድስበት፡ አሉ፡ አቡን፡ ይጨጌም፡ ገዝተዋል፡ በጃም፡ ከነበረ፡ ፻፸፩ አመት፡ ነው

81. P.L.a.36.

በዘመነ፡ ሉቃስ፡ ባዩ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ መንግሥት፡ በራስ፡ ሐይሉ፡ ራስነት፡ በመልዓክ፡ ብርሃናት፡ አቤሴሎም፡ በሊቀ፡ መዘምራን፡ ክንፉ፡ በርእሰ፡ ደብር፡ ደንጉላ፡ ቀኝ፡ ጌታ፡ ወልደ፡ ራፋኤል፡ ግራ፡ ጌታ፡ አሥራት፡ ቤት፡ ጠባቂ፡ ጌቶች፡ እር፡ ወልደ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ወልደ፡ ስምዖን፡ መጨኖች፡ ሄላ፡ ተክሉ፡ ፫ ጫ፡ ከ፪ ማ፡ በብርት፡ ያባትዎን፡ ያቤቶ፡ ባስልኖስን፡ አገርጀህጃህን፡ ከደጀ፡ አዝማች፡ ሐይሉ፡ ከደጀ፡ አዝማች፡ እሼቴ፡ ልጅ፡ አሥለቅቆ፡ እዩም፡ ራስም፡ በደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ ይቀድሱበት፡ ብሎ፡ ሰጡዎ፡ ላብርኝ፡ ዓደይ፡

82. P.L.a.37.

በዘመነ፡ ሉቃስ፡ በእዩ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ መንግሥት፡ በመልእክ፡ ብርሃናት፡ አቤሴሎም፡ ሲመት፡ በራስ፡ ኃይሉ፡ በሊቀ፡ መዘምራን፡ ክንፉ፡ በርእሰ፡ ደብር፡ ደንጉላ፡ ቀኝ፡ ጌታ፡ ወልደ፡ ራፋኤል፡ ግራ፡ ጌታ፡ አሥራት፡ ቤት፡ ጠባቂ፡ ጌቶች፡ ወልደ፡ ሚካኤልና፡ ወልደ፡ ስምዖን፡ መጨኖች፡ ሄላና፡ ተክሉ፡ አሞች፡ አባ፡ ተክለ፡ አብ፡ ኒቆዲሞስ፡ መቃቢስ፡ ዘፈራ፡ ጥራን፡ ጠባቂ፡ ኖስጦስ፡ ፈንጃ፡ ያዘጅ፡ ልብሶን፡ ያባቱን፡ ላሳላፊ፡ መብዓ፡ ያ፲ጫን፡ ያዩ፡ ቆሎ፡ ቀድሞ፡ እዩ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ሰጥተውት፡ የነበሩትን፡ አሁንም፡ እዩ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ ቀድስበት፡ ብሎ፡ መለሱለት፡ ደብተሮቹ፡ ሁሉም፡ ያውቃሉ፡ ከ፲ ወበሮችም፡ ተጽፎአል፡ ይሕም፡ እዳይፈርስ፡ በይጨጌ፡ ተስፋ፡ ቃል፡ በአቡን፡ ኖሳብ፡ ቃል፡ ተገዝተዋል፡ ቦሥልጣነ፡ ጴጥሮስ፡ ወጸውሎስ፡ ዉጊዘ፡ ይኩን፡ ዘፈሐቆ፡ ለዝ፡ ደብዳቤ፡

83. P.L.a.38.

የሸለለቃ፡ ተዝካሮ፡

በዘመነ፡ ሉቃስ፡ ባዩ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ መንግሥት፡ በራስ፡ ኃይሉ፡ በመልእክ፡ ብርሃናት፡ አቤሴሎም፡ ሲመት፡ በሊቀ፡ መዘምራን፡ ክንፉ፡ በርእሰ፡ ደብር፡ ደንጉላ፡ በቀኝ፡ ጌታ፡ ወልደ፡ ራፋኤል፡ በግራ፡ ጌታ፡ አሥራት፡ ቤት፡ ጠባቂ፡ ጌቶች፡ ወልደ፡ ሚካኤልና፡ ወልደ፡ ስምዖን፡ መጨኖች፡ ሄላና፡ ተክሉ፡ አሞች፡ ተክለ፡ አብ፡ ኒቆዲሞስ፡ ዘፈራ፡ መቃቢስ፡ ጥራን፡ ጠባቂ፡ ኖስጦስ፡ በዋላጅ፡ የላከ፡ ማርያምን፡ ፪ ጫን፡ ፫ ጫን፡ የማስበል፡ ክፍለ፡ ማርያን፡ በገንደዋ፡ ፫ ጫን፡ ያዩ፡ ቆሎ፡ በደብሎም፡ ጫን፡ ያዩ፡ ቆሎ፡ የጀግረ፡ ማማን፡ ለሸለለቃ፡ ተዝካሮ፡ ደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ ቀድስበት፡ ብለው፡ እዩ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ስጡዎ፡ ይሕንም፡ ደብተሮቹ፡ ሁሉ፡ ያዋቃሉ፡ ኋላም፡ የሸለለቃ፡ ተዝካሮ፡ ወገን፡ ባይቀድሱ፡ እዩ፡ ኖሐንስ፡ ደብተሮቹም፡ የጀግራ፡ ማማን፡ ፴ውን፡ ምድር፡ ለእቴጌ፡ መነን፡ ሰጥተዋል፡ የጮቃው፡ መሻምያ፡ ፩ ማር፡ ነው፡ የደጓሽ፡ አግኔንም፡ ሪም፡ ሰጥተዋል፡

84. P.L.a.39.

ባዩ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ መንግሥት፡ በራስ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ራስነት፡ የመጸድ፡ ልብሶን፡ ምድር፡ ደብረጋንና፡ ደልጊን፡ የደልጊንም፡ የበረን፡ ቀረጽ፡ ለመልእክ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ሮብዓም፡ እዩ፡ ሰሎሞንና፡ ራስ፡ ኃይሉ፡ በእየየሜ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ይቀድስበት፡ ብለዋል፡ ለዜህም፡ መሳክርቱ፡ ሊቄ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ሊቄ፡ እዮአክስ፡ ሊቄ፡ ገብራ፡ ታናሹ፡ ሊቄ፡ ኃይሉ፡ አዛዢ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ አዛጅ፡ ኃይሉ፡ አዛጅ፡ ዝክራ፡ አዛጅ፡ ወዳጁ፡ መልእክ፡ ገነት፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ናቸው፡ :: :: ::

85. P.L.a.40.

፩ ጋሻ፡ እንቃሽ፡ የስሌን፡ ልጅ፡ ያካሌን፡ ያመጸኛውን፡ እፄ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ራስ፡ ኃይሉም፡ ሐመረ፡
ኖላ፡ ይቀድስበት፡ ብለው፡ ለሻቃ፡ አውክንድኖስ፡ ሰጥተዋል፡ ለቅዳሴውም፡ ጫ፡ ስንዴ፡ ፲ አሞ
ሌ፡ ሊሰጡ፡ ዋሉ፡ የሻለቃ፡ ናትናሌል፡ ይህን፡ የፋቀ፡ በ፫ም፻ በ፲ ወ፪ ሐዋርያት፡ ውጉዝ፡ ለዶኩን፡

86. P.L.a.41.

እጼ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ የወደዘሮ፡ ወለተ፡ ድንግልን፡ ጉልት፡ ወምባን፡ ያጼ፡ ቆሎውን፡ ፍቀው፡ ለል
ጆቸዎ፡ ፲ ላዳን፡ ዘቢብ፡ ላየየሜ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ሰጥተው፡ ይቀድሱበት፡ ብለዋሉ፡ በመ
ልእክ፡ ገነት፡ መጽሔት፡ አለቅነት፡ ወኝኒ፡ አዛዢ፡ አዛዢ፡ ገብርዬ፡ የታዘዘው፡ አዛዢ፡ በእዳ፡
ማርያም፡ ያስፋቀው፡ የሻለቃ፡ ወልደ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ይኸም፡ እንዳይፈርስ፡ ባቡን፡ በዶጪ፡ ቃ
ል፡ ተገዝተዋል።

87. P.L.a.42.

ባፄ፡ ተክለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ መንግሥት፡ ዓለም፡ በተፈጠረ፡ በ፯ ሹሕ፡ ከ፪፻፸፫ ዘመን፡ በዘመነ፡ ማቴ
ዎስ፡ ቀድሞም፡ ዓፄ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ዛሬም፡ ዓፄ፡ ተክለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ከልተው፡ ከጉዳን፡ እጸ
ጉብ፡ ፲፪ ጋሻ፡ ምድር፡ ቀድሰው፡ ይደራበት፡ ብለው፡ በደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ ዓፄ፡ ተክለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ለበ
ጅሮድ፡ ሕዝቅያስ፡ ሰጥተዋል፡ ጭቃው፡ ፈልጾስ፡ ነው፡ በእቡን፡ በዶጪ፡ ቃል፡ ግዝት፡ ነው፡ እስ
ከ፡ ምድላት፡ ድረስ፡ ይህ፡ እንዳይፈርስ።

88. P.L.a.43.

እፄ፡ ተክለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ለደጅ፡ አዝማች፡ ወልደ፡ ገብርኤል፡ የሰጠዎ፡ ጉልት፡ ቀድሰበት፡ ብለው፡
ዘጋን፡ መስቀንችን፡ ባፈረዋናት፡ ድል፡ ጊዜ፡ ተቀብለው፡ ስላደኖዎ፡ የነፍሴ፡ ዋጋ፡ ነው፡ ብለው።
ደግሞ፡ ጉናን፡ ፱ አመት፡ በጋላ፡ እጅ፡ ከተጋዙ፡ በኋላ፡ ስላነገሥዎ፡ ሰጥተዋሉ። ደግሞ፡ ደብር
ን፡ ገንታን፡ ደንቆር፡ እንዳቤትን፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ን፡ ከጋላ፡ ስለለዩ፡ እቡን፡ ዶጪ፡ በግዙቱ፡ ጊዜ፡
ስለዜህ፡ ሰጥተዋሉ፡ ቀኝ፡ ደግሞን፡ ግራ፡ ደግሞን፡ ያባተዎን፡ የኖሐንስን፡ እገር፡ ጸላተዎን፡ ስ
ላደከሙ፡ የደም፡ ምድር፡ ይሁን፡ ብለው፡ ሰጥተዋሉ፡ ይህንንም፡ ያፈረሱ፡ እቡን፡ ዶጪ፡ ው
ጉዝ፡ ይሁን፡ ብለዋል። ። ።

89. P.L.a.44.

በዘመነ፡ ማቴዎስ፡ በጥቅምት፡ በመልእክ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ርብዓም፡ በሊቀ፡ ጠበብት፡ ገብረ፡ ሥሉስ፡
ሹመት፡ ባርዋራን፡ ባክቹ፡ ና፡ በነጮ፡ ጭቅነት፡ ያለውን፡ ምድር፡ ኮንቲባ፡ ቅንዎት፡ ቅንቋም፡
ይቀድስበት፡ ብሎ፡ ስጥተዎሉ፡ እፄ፡ እያሱ፡ ይቴ፡ የተመኙ፡ ይህንንም፡ ያፈረሰ፡ ግዝትነው፡

90. P.L.a.45.

በዘመነ፡ ማቴዎስ፡ በሐምሌ፡ ፲፪ ቀ ስኑድ፡ በመልእክ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ሃህሉ፡ በሊቀ፡ ጠበብት፡ ገብረ፡
ሥሉስ፡ ሹመት፡ እፄ፡ እያሱ፡ ለቀጸላ፡ ያጋፋሪ፡ ሰጠኝን፡ ምድር፡ ከፍራፍራ፡ ጀምሮ፡ እስከ፡ ጀናሆ፡
ድረስ፡ ቆላውንም፡ ደጋውንም፡ በቀስቋም፡ ቀደስበት፡ ብሎ፡ ሰጥተዋል፡ ይህን፡ ያፈረሰ፡ ደብራ
ም፡ እቡነ፡ ኖስ፡ እጪ፡ ተስፋ፡ ግዝተዋል፡ ይርዱት

91. P.L.a.46.

በዘመነ፡ ማርቆስ፡ በጥቅምት፡ በ፯ ቀን፡ ዓርብ፡ በመልእክ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ሃህሉ፡ በሊቀ፡ ጠበብት፡
ገብረ፡ ሥሉስ፡ ሹመት፡ ያፄ፡ በካፋ፡ ልጅ፡ የወደዘሮ፡ ውቢት፡ ልጆች፡ በደጋ፡ ናራ፡ ይዋሮች።

ወጅራባ፤ አጋባ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፤ ፈፈሪ፤ በቁላ፡ ኮዘረባ፤ ጋዛ፤ ደበው፡ ደንጉራ፡ በዚህ፡ ቀሰ
ቋም፡ ይቀድስበት፡ ብለዋሉ፡ እዩ፡ እያሱም፡ ይቴጌ፡ የተመኙ፡ የታዘዘው፡ ሊቀ፡ መኳስ፡ አቦ፡
ባርያ፡ አቡንም፡ እጩጌም፡ ገዝተዋሉ፡ ጸፈው፡ አፅፈ፡ ኪርስ፡

92. P.L.a.47.

በጂ ሺህ፡ ከ፪፻፸፱ ዘመን፡ በሉቃስ፡ በግንቦት፡ በ፬ ቀን፡ ሐሙስ፡ በዴ፡ ተክለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ መንግ
ሥት፡ ላዴ፡ ገላውዴዎስ፡ ልጃቺ፡ በሃይማኖት፡ በሃይማኖት፡ የሄደውን፡ ምድር፡ መልሰው
ላቸዋል፡ ለወደዘር፡ ገለቡ፡ ለራስ፡ አሊ፡ እናት፡ እነሱታውን፡ ለዘመዶቹ፡ ለወደዛዝሩ፡ ቅዱስ፡
ገላውዴዎን፡ ተክለው፡ ቅድሶ፡ ይደሩበት፡ ብለዋል፡ አቡንም፡ እጩጌም፡ በስልጣነ፡ ዴጥርስ፡
ወጸውሎስ፡ ውጉዝ፡ ይኩን፡ የታዘዘው፡ ባላባራስ፡ አድጎ፡ አይቸው፡

93. P.L.a.48.

ባዩ፡ በካፋ፡ ልድ፡ ባዩ፡ እያሱ፡ መንግሥት፡ ወደዘር፡ ወለተ፡ ገብርኤል፡ የክፍለ፡ ማርያምን፡ ም
ድር፡ ወገዝጌን፡ ፳ ምድር፡ ፲ ቦታ፡ በ፴ ወቄት፡ የገዙትን፡ እዩ፡ እያሱ፡ የወደዘር፡ ትርጓሜ፡ ላቤ
ቶ፡ እንግዳ፡ ልጅ፡ ለውዳጅ፡ ደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ ቀድሱበት፡ ብለው፡ ሰጥተዋሉ፡ ይሕ፡ እንዳይፈር
ስ፡ በአቡነ፡ ዮሳብ፡ ቃል፡ በእጩጌ፡ ተስፋ፡ ቃል፡ ተገዝተዋል፡ የዚሕ፡ መሳክርቱ፡ አለቃ፡ ገብሩ፡ ሊ
ቀ፡ መዘምር፡ ክንፋ፡ ርእሰ፡ ደብር፡ ደንጉላ፡ ቀኝ፡ ጌታ፡ ወልደ፡ ሩፋኤል፡ ግራ፡ ጌታ፡ ወልደ፡ ስም
ዖን፡ ቤት፡ ጠባቂ፡ ጌቶች፡ እቤት፡ ሄላና፡ እቤት፡ መረግደ፡ እሞች፡ ቄስ፡ ወልደ፡ ሚካኤልና፡ መ
ርዓዊ፡ ቄስ፡ አሥራትና፡ ወርቄ፡ ጥራን፡ ጠባቂ፡ የውስጡስ፡ የቀራትም፡ ፪፻ ደብተሮች፡ ያውቃሉ

94. P.L.a.49.

ባዩ፡ እያሱ፡ መንግሥት፡ ባራስ፡ አሊ፡ ራስነት፡ ባለቃ፡ ገብሩ፡ በሊቀ፡ መዘምራን፡ ክንፋ፡ ሹመት፡
ራስ፡ የሚበላውን፡ እዩ፡ ቆሎ፡ በጃይራ፡ ፰ ሺህ፡ በጭሕራ፡ ጽዮን፡ ፪ ሺህ፡ ለሥላሴ፡ ለጣን፡ ፳ ሺህ
ው፡ እየሰጡ፡ ለላፍቶ፡ ከብቴ፡ ለልጇቸለም ሹቱ፡ ለወደዘር፡ ትብለጽ፡ እዩ፡ እያሱ፡ ሰጥተዋል፡ ታዞ፡
ያጸፉት፡ ካንቲባ፡ እያዳር፡ ናቸው፡ የኸም፡ እንዳይፈርስ፡ እጩጌ፡ ተስፋ፡ አቡነ፡ ዮሳብ፡ ገዝተዋል።

95. P.L.a.50.

በሉቃስ፡ ባዩ፡ ሕዝቅያስ፡ መንግሥት፡ በመልአክ፡ ብርሃናት፡ ፍራ፡ ሹመት፡ በሊቀ፡ መዘምራን፡
ክንፋ፡ በርእሰ፡ ደብር፡ ምህርካ፡ በቀኝ፡ ጌታ፡ መርዓዊ፡ በግራ፡ ጌታ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ቤት፡ ጠባቂ፡ ጌቶ
ች፡ የሥላሴ፡ ባርያ፡ አባ፡ ኪዳኑ፡ እሞች፡ አባ፡ ፅንቁ፡ አባ፡ ጸዳሉ፡ አሮ፡ ወልደ፡ ሚካኤል፡ አባ፡ ዘ
ወልደ፡ ጥራን፡ ጠባቂ፡ ግራ፡ ጌታ፡ አሥራት፡ መጪኖች፡ ገብረ፡ ኪዳን፡ ሀበነ፡ ወልድ፡ ደረቦ፡ በ
ታች፡ ያለውን፡ የዘላኑን፡ መስክ፡ እንገረብ፤ ባሻ፡ ሃልህ፡ ፪፻ ወቄት፡ ፅጣን፡ ሰጥተው፡ ደብረ፡
ብርሃን፡ ይቀድሱበት፡ ብለዋል። ታዞ፡ ያጸፉቱ፡ አሳላፈ፡ ገብሩ፡ ምስክሩ፡ ሊቄ፡ ገብሩ

96a. P.L.a.51a.

በዘመነ፡ ሉቃስ፡ በአለቃ፡ ወዳጅ፡ አለቅነት፡ በሠርፁ፡ ሊቀ፡ ደቄና፡ እዩ፡ ሕዝቅያስ፡ የዳንዴውን፡
ቦታ፡ ላሳሳላ፡ ቀንጩ፡ በ፫ ማድጋ፡ ስንዴ፡ በ፫ ጪው፡ መድኃኔ፡ ዓለም፡ ይቀድሱበት፡ ብለዋ
ል። እጸፈው፡ አሳላፈ፡ ገብሩ፡ ነው።

96b. P.L.a.51b.

በእፄ፡ ሕዝቅያስ፡ መንግሥት፡ ባለቃ፡ ሀብቱ፡ አለቅነት፡ በገብረ፡ ማርያም፡ ሊቀ፡ ደቂና፡ የዳን
ዴዊን፡ ቦታ፡ በ፫ ማድጋ፡ ከንዴ፡ በ፫ ጪው፡ ላሳላፊ፡ ቁንጫ፡ መድኃኔ፡ ዓለም፡ ይቀድስበት፡
ብለው፡ ሰጥተዋል፡

97. P.L.a.52.

በዘመነ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ በፄ፡ ሕዝቅያስ፡ መንግሥት፡ በመልአክ፡ ብርሃናት፡ ፍሬ፡ ሹመት፡ በሊቀ፡ መ
ዘምራን፡ ክንፉ፡ በርእሰ፡ ደብር፡ ምህርካ፡ በቀኝ፡ ጌታ፡ መርዓዊ፡ በግራ፡ ጌታ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ቤት፡ ጠ
ባቀ፡ ጌቶች፡ አባ፡ ኪዳኑ፡ የሥላሴ፡ ባርያ፡ ገባውዴዎስ፡ መስክን፡ ላዘዙ፡ ደዴሌ፡ ደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡
ቀድሶ፡ ይደርበት፡ ብለዋል። ይህ፡ እንዳይፈርስ፡ ባቡንና፡ በእጩን፡ ቃል፡ ተገዝተል፤ መሰክር
ቱ፡ ደብተሮቹ፡ ሁሉ፡ ናቸው። ግዝቱንም፡ የሰሙ፡ እቴጌ፡ መሰለች፡ የነገሡ፡ ለት፡ የነበሩቱ፡ ካ
ዩ፡ ቤት፡ ሁሉ፡ ናቸው።

98. P.L.a.53.

በዘመነ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ በአለቃ፡ ኂረት፡ ሹመት፡ እፄ፡ በእጃ፡ ማርያም፤ ጎርጌራ፡ ኪሚ፡ ትንክርክር፡
ማሞ፡ ይዞት፡ የነበረውን፡ ምድር፡ ከለቦታው፡ ደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ ያመት፡ ቅብዓ፡ ኑግ፡ እየሠጠ፡
ይቀድስበት፡ ብለው፡ ላያሁነኝ፡ ገብረ፡ ሰጥተዋል። ታዘው፡ ያጸፉትም፡ ኮከበ፡ ልዳ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ነዎ።

99. P.L.a.54.

እፄ፡ በእጃ፡ ማርያም፡ ለራስ፡ ወልደ፡ ገብርኤል፡ ለሉል፡ ዋጋ፡ የስጦዎ፡ ጉልት፡ ጋላ፡ ቤት፡ በገባ፡
ባ፫፫ ዓመት፡ በላመዱ፡ ከዋድላ፡ ጋንቸራን፡ ደርርያን፡ ሰለልኩላን፡ ከሾደሆ፡ አንፋራችን፡ ከመ
ቄት፡ ቲኋን፡ ከቤገምድር፡ ድንከርን፡ ራስ፡ ቀመሱን፡ ከንዘግድም፡ የ፯ቱን፡ ጮዎች፡ አርደሳ
ንን፡ ፍንጅርጅር፡ ያ፬ን፡ አበዘች፡ አቅሌ፡ ጽዮንን። እንዘ፡ ግድምን፡ በሊቀ፡ መጻኔ፡ ይዳኝ፡
ብለዋል። ደግሞ፡ በላዕከ፡ ማርያም፡ ቤት፡ ያለውን፡ ያፄ፡ ቆሎ፡ ሁሉ፡ ጎልቶለዋሉ፡ ከደምብያ
ም፡ በብርከ፡ ዳዊት፡ ልጅ፡ በጎሹ፡ ቸመንነት፡ ፲፰ ሺህ፡ ያፄ፡ ቆሎ፡ አውድባ፡ ፯ ሺህ፡ ፍቅሪ፡
ደግሞ፡ ባንድየና፡ በሊቄ፡ ኂረት፡ ገንትነት፡ ፫ ሺህ፡ ካ፲ ማ፡ ያፄ፡ ቆሎ፡ ለወስጌ፡ በፋሲል፡ ወ
ርቁ፡ ገንትነት፡ ፬ ሺህ፡ ካ፫ ማ፡ ያፄ፡ ቆሎ፡ ቆንዶሎች፡ በተስፋ፡ እየሱስ፡ ገንትነት፡ ፫ ሺህ፡
ያፄ፡ ቆሎ፡ በሳርባኩሳ። ደግሞ፡ ከዝንጆር፡ ገደል፡ እስከ፡ ቁራ፡ ገደል፡ ባርሰገድ፡ አባተዎ፡ ያቀ
ናውን፡ ከዳባ፡ እስከ፡ ጥሩቅ፡ ይህንን፡ ቀድሞም፡ ፳፯ እመት፡ ገዝተውታል፡ አሁንም፡ ደብ
ረ፡ ብርሃን፡ ይቀድሱበት፡ ብለዋል። ደግሞም፡ ከደራ፡ የቢት፡ ወደደን፡ ጋላ፡ ቀመሱን፡ እቡ
ነ፡ እዎስጣቴዎስን፡ ይትከሉበት፡ ብለው፡ ሰጥተዋሉ፡ ይህ፡ እንዳይፈርስ፡ እቡንም፡ ይጪ
ጌም፡ አውግዘዋል። ። ።

100. P.L.a.55.

ዘወደዘር፡ ብርሃኖቅ፡

በዘመነ፡ ማርቆስ፡ ባፄ፡ ዮናስ፡ መንግሥት፡ በአለቃ፡ ኂረት፡ አለቅነት፡ በሊቀ፡ መዘምር፡ ክንፉ፡
በርእሰ፡ ደብር፡ ጌሌ፡ በቀኝ፡ ጌታ፡ መርዓዊ፡ በግራ፡ ጌታ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ቤት፡ ጠባቂ፡ ጌቶች፡ የሥላሴ፡
ባርያ፡ አባ፡ ኪዳኑ፡ እመች፡ አባ፡ ፀደሉ፡ አባ፡ አሚናደብ፡ ቄስ፡ ወልደ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ሐብሉ፡ መጪኖ
ች፡ ገብረ፡ ኪዳን፡ ወርቁ፡ ጥራን፡ ጠባቂ፡ አባ፡ ፅንቃ፡ ፲፰ ሺህ፡ ካ፲ ማድጋ፡ በት፡ ንኡልንጌ፡
እፄ፡ ዮናስ፡ ደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ ይቀድሱበት፡ ብለው፡ ለናተዎ፡ ለወደዘር፡ ብርሃኖቅ፡ ሰጥተዋል፡
ከዚህ፡ ፫ ማድጋ፡ ለጫቅርን፡ ወልደ፡ ይህ፡ እንዳይፈርስ፡ እቡንም፡ እጪጌም፡ ገዝተዋል፡ ም
ስክሮቹ፡ ሊቃውንቱ፡ ሁሉ፡ ናቸው፡ ያፄ፡ ቆሎ። ሰሞን፡ መቆሙን፡ ላባ፡ ወሰን፡ ሰጥተዋል።

እዬ፡ ተክለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ይጽናባት፡ ብለዋል፡ ገንቶችም፡ ለከንቲባ፡ የሚሰጡትን፡ ፳ ወቂት፡
ወርቅ፡ ፍቅላዋሉ፡ ገንቶች፡ እንዳይደርሱ፡ ዋሳቸው፡ ለምባ፡ እንድላይ፡ ይህም፡ እንዳይፈርስ፡
አቡንም፡ ይጨገም፡ ገዝተዋል። ታዘ፡ ያስጸፋትም፡ ቀዩ፡ ሊቄ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ነዎ።

101. P.L.a.56.

በዘመነ፡ ማርቆስ፡ በዩዮናስ፡ መንግሥት፡ በመልእክ፡ ብርሃናት፡ የስላሴ፡ ባርያ፡ በሊቀ፡ መዘም
ራን፡ ክንፉ፡ በርእሱ፡ ደብር፡ ጌሌ፡ በቀኝ፡ ጌታ፡ መርዓዊ፡ በግራጌታ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ቤተጠባቂ፡ ጌቶች፡
ቄስ፡ ወልደሚካኤል፡ ግራጌታ፡ ዓርኩ፡ መጨኖች፡ ገብረኪዳን፡ ወርቄ፡ እሞች፡ መምሐራ፡
ፀዳሉ፡ አባ፡ አሚናዳብ፡ ኃብሉ፡ አባ፡ ሄላ፡ ጥራን፡ ጠባቂ፡ አባ፡ ፅንቁ፡ የዓፌ፡ ትእዛዙን፡ ያዩ፡ ቆሎ፡
ዘጠኙን፡ ጫን፡ የጮሎጂ፡ ደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ ይቀድሱበት፡ ብለው፡ ሰጡዎ፡ ለአፈ፡ ንጉሥ፡
ላእክ፡ ማርያም፡ እዬ፡ ዮናስ። እዬ፡ ከሰጡዎ፡ ፯ን፡ ጫን፡ ለጮሎ፡ ጽዮን፡ ሰጡ፡ ጫኑን፡ ለሥላሴ፡
ሰጡ፡ ፪ን፡ ጫን፡ ለራሰዎ፡ አደረጉ፡ አፈ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ላእክ፡ ማርያም፡ የታዘዙት፡ አፈንጉሥ፡
የአራድ፡ ብላታ፡ ገቲ፡ ምቅማጡ፡ ደጅ፡ አዝማች፡ ደረሰ፡ ነጋሪት፡ መች፡ ወልደ፡ ሥላሴ፡
ዶሳ፡ እንደ፡ አይፈርስ፡ አቡን፡ እጨዬም፡ ገዝተዋል።

102. P.L.a.57.

በዘመነ፡ ማርቆስ፡ ባዬ፡ ተክለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ መንግሥት፡ በለቃ፡ ገብረ፡ ኪዳን፡ አለቅነት፡ በወቦር
ጌ፡ ያ፬ ጫን፡ ገብስ፡ ያዩ፡ ቆሎ፡ የዘመለኮትን፡ በ፪ ጫን፡ ስንዴ፡ ጠበርጌ፡ ኃሹ፡ ከዘመዶቹ፡ ጋራ፡
ለመሥዋዕት፡ ለኪዳን፡ ምሕረት፡ ሰጥተው፡ ይደረባት፡ ብለዋል፡

103. P.L.a.58.

ባለቃ፡ ሣህሉ፡ አለቅነት፡ ከብተጅራን፡ የወይዘሮ፡ አመተ፡ ኢየሱስን፡ የመካኒቱን፡ እዬ፡ ተክለ፡
ጊዮርጊስ፡ ለወይዘሮ፡ ልዑል፡ ሠምራ፡ አጸጸሜ፡ ቅደስ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ይቀድሱበት፡ ብሎ፡ ሰጥተዋል፡
የታዘዘውም፡ አዝማች፡ ወልደ፡ ዳዊት፡ ነው።

104. P.L.a.59.

በዘመነ፡ ማቴዎስ፡ ባዬ፡ ጌሉ፡ መንግሥት፡ በከንቲባ፡ አይሞትሁኖ፡ ሹመት፡ በቸመኒ፡ ሣህሉ፡
ቸመንነት፡ ደረሰጌ፡ የቋድ፡ ሰሪውን፡ ጫን፡ ያዩ፡ ቆሎ፡ ያዳራሽ፡ አዛዢን፡ የሐጅ፡ ሣልሕ፡ ደብረ፡
ብርሃን፡ ይቀድስበት፡ ብለዋል፡ ሲሰውን፡ ለባለሲሶ፡ የከብቴና፡ የውክት፡ ሁለት፡ እጁን፡ ለሐጅ፡
ሣልህ፡ ለዚህ፡ የታዘዙቱ፡ ከንቲባ፡ አይሞትሁኖ፡ ነዎ።

105. P.L.a.60.

በዘመነ፡ ሉቃስ፡ ባዘዘ፡ ያለውን፡ የሰፊውን፡ የራስ፡ አብድዬን፡ ምድር፡ ባረጋጋ፡ ጮቅነት፡ ይ
ዘት፡ የነበሩትን፡ በታውንም፡ ምድሩንም፡ እዬ፡ ጌሉ፡ ለልጆቸው፡ ለመድሃልህ፡ ደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ እ
የሰፋ፡ ይኑር፡ ብሎ፡ ለሥላሴ፡ ሰጥተዋል፡ ይኸም፡ እንዳይፈርስ፡ እጨጌ፡ ወልደ፡ ዮና፡ ገዝተዋል፡
ታዘም፡ ያጸፋት፡ አባ፡ ወሰን፡ ናቸው፡ በሊቄ፡ ኃይሉም፡ ፈት፡ እዬ፡ ይዩ፡ ብለው፡ ሊቄ፡ ኃይሉ፡ አጽ
ፈዋል። ደግሞ፡ በመንደር፡ ያለውን፡ ያለቃውን፡ የጨዋውን፡ በታውን፡ ምድሩን፡ በራስ፡ አብድዬ፡
እጅ፡ የነበረውን፡ ሰጥተዋል፡

106. P.L.a.61.

በዘመነ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ባዬ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ መንግሥት፡ በራስ፡ ጉግሣ፡ ቢት፡ ወደድነት፡ ባለቃ፡ ገብረ፡ ሕይወ
ት፡ አለቅነት፡ ለደጅ፡ አዝማች፡ ማራ፡ የሰጡዎ፡ ጉልት፡ አገራ፡ ፈልሶ፡ በተ፡ ክርስቲያኑ፡ ፈ

ፈርሶ፡ጉሹ፡የገደሉበት፡ዘባክኒ፡ጽዮን፡ኬር፡ቀስቋም፡አቡነ፡አረጋዊ፡ጉራሹ፡ቅዱስ፡ጊዮርጊስ፡ድብካን፡ጽዮን፡አፋረቢዳ፡ቅዱስ፡ጊዮርጊስ፡አሳብዳ፡ኪዳነ፡ምሕረት፡አብኸክሊ፡ጽዮን፡እንደ፡ዘጌ፡እንደ፡ቈራጣ፡እንደ፡ዋልድባ፡ነፍስ፡የገደለ፡ይማጽንባት፡ብለዋል፡ይጪጌም፡አድባራቱም፡አውግዞዋል፡በ፲፭፡ደብር፡በዚሁ፡ልደታ፡ይቀድሱበት፡ብለዋል፡የታዘዘው፡ኪዳነ፡ማርያም፡ነው፡

107. P.L.a.62.

ባዩ፡ኢዮአስ፡መንግሥት። ደጅ፡አዝማት፡ኃይለ፡ማርያም፡በፊት፡ወሎ፡ውጫሌ፡ዘምተው፡ሰው፡አለቀበዎ፡ኋላም፡ዋልቃይት፡ዘምተው፡ድል፡አደረጉ፡ሰው፡አለቀበዎ፡ከዚያም፡ከዚያም፡ኪሕ፡ከ፯፻ አለቀበዎ፡ስለ፡ዚሕ፡ግን፡ራስ፡ጉጉሳ፡ካዩ፡ተነጋገረው፡ከየጂ፡ከላስቱ፡አምስትያውን፡የ፻፳ ወቂት፡የወንድ፡ልጅዎ፡ጉልት፡የቤት፡ልጅዎ፡ትሎት፡ይሁን፡ብሎ፡ዋልድባ፡ኪዳነ፡ምሕረት፡ይቀድሱበት፡ብለው፡ሰጥተዋል፡ይኸም፡በይጪጌ፡ቃል፡ባድባራቱ፡ቃል፡ተወግዞአል።

108. P.L.a.63.

በዘመነ፡ዮሐንስ፡ባዩ፡ጊጋር፡መንግሥት፡ባለቃ፡ጌሌ፡በሊቀ፡መዘምራን፡ፈንታ፡ሹመት፡ዋልዋጅ፡ያለውን፡የቆቆ፡አጽማጅን፡ምድር፡ያዝማች፡ክፍሌንም፡ምድር፡አዩ፡ጊጋር፡ለለቃ፡ተስፋ፡ሚካኤል፡ደብረ፡ብርሃን፡ይቀድስበት፡ብለው፡ሰጥተዋል፡መሳክርቱ፡ሊቄ፡ጎሹ፡ደብተሮቹ፡ናቸው፡ታዞ፡ያየፈው፡ዋሏ፡ጉብሩ፡ነው፡

109. P.L.a.64.

በአኩቱተ፡አብ፡ወወልድ፡ወመንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡ነዋ፡አዘዙ፡ወወሀቡ፡ንጉሠ፡ነገሥት፡ሣህለ፡ድንግል፡ለካህናተ፡ደረስጌ። ወኅልቄ፡አህጉር፡ወተወክፉ፡ደጅ፡አዝማች፡ውቤ፡ለቅዳሴ። ጃናሞራ፡የመጪኤውን፡አንጠራን፡ጊላን፡የወንበሩን፡በ፯ ወቂት፡የተገዛውን። እራስ፡ጉብሬ፡ባአዩ፡ኢያሱ፡ባዩ፡ተክለ፡ጊዮርጊስ፡ባዩ፡ሐዝቅያስ፡ያስጉለቱትን፡አቀጣን፡በትእዛዝን፡የፎጠናውን፡ብተራብንጃን፡አባን፡ጌጃሞችን፡ፍንጥርጥርን፡ከእጃግሬ፡የወደዘሮ፡ግምጃ፡የተወለዱበትን፡የተዘከሩበትን፡የጃግሬውንም፡ሎማን፡አገውጌን፡ጉትማንን፡ሰብረንን፡ስለንደቋናን፡አላምኔን፡አባኖችን፡ጊብላን፡ሰረጸርን፡ቅባይባን። ይህም፡የሰጡዎ፡ጉልት፡እንዳይፈርስ፡እዩም፡እጪጌም፡ወፅተው፡ያቡን፡ወንበር፡መስቀል፡ወፅቶ፡፵፬ ደብር፡ወፅቶ፡፫፯ ዓመት፡ወፅተው፡ገዝተዋል፡ገዳሚቱንም፡ነፍስ፡የገደለ፡ቋንጃ፡የቈረጠ፡እንደ፡አቡን፡እንደ፡እጪጌ፡ቤት፡እንደገዳማቱ፡ትሁን፡ብለዋል። ይህም፡የተጸፈው፡በመልአክ፡ብርሃናት፡ጉብሩ፡በሊቀ፡መዘምራን፡ምስጋድ፡ሹመት፡ነው፡ታዞ፡ያየፈው፡አጋፋሪ፡ሰደፉ፡ነው። መሳክርቱ፡ደብተሮቹ፡ሁሉ፡ናቸው።

110. P.L.b.1.

የብላታ፡አረጋይን፡ሪም፡አዩ፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖት፡ለከንቲባ፡ቅንዋት፡ሰጥተዋል።

111. P.L.b.2.

በዘመነ፡ማቴዎስ፡በጥቅምት፡አዩ፡ኢያሱ፡በነገሡ፡በ፱ ወር፡ያቅበ፡ሚካኤልን፡እሪም፡ለሊቄ፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖት፡ልጅ፡ለሊቄ፡ጉብሩ፡አዩ፡ኢያሱ፡ሠጥተዋል፡ታዘው፡ያጸፉትም፡ባላምበራስ፡እረምኃ፡ነዎ፡መሳክርቱ፡ደብተሮች፡ሁሉ፡በመልአክ፡ሰላም፡ሉለ፡ቃል፡አለቅነት፡

112. P.L.b.3.

በመልእክ፡ፀሐይ፡ፎብዓም፡በሊቀ፡ገብረ፡ሥሉስ፡ሹመት፡በሳቅባ፡የከኒሳ፡እሪመዎን፡፩ ጋሽ፡
የክሶስ፡እቡጋ ፩ ጋሽ፡የወልዴ፡ለእጋፋሪ፡ክንፉ፡እዪ፡እያሱ፡ቀስቂም፡ቀድስቦት፡ብለው፡ስጥ
ተዋሉ፡የታዘዘው፡እስላፊ፡የቢዳ፡ነው፡

113. P.L.b.4.

በዘመነ፡ዮሐንስ፡ባለቃ፡ፍሬ፡በሊቀ፡መዘምራን፡ክንፉ፡የወይዘሮ፡ቅድስቴን፡ሪም፡። የደጋ
ሹ፡እግኔን፡ሪም፡ለፈንጃ፡ከብቴ፡እዪ፡ሕዝቅያስ፡ሰጥተዋሉ፡። ታዘ፡መጽቶ፡የነገረው፡እሳ
ላፊ፡ገብሩ፡ነው፡፲፪ቱ፡ሹመቶ፡ደብተሮችም፡ያውቃሉ፡እፈ፡ንጉሥ፡ላዕክ፡ማርያም
ም፡ያውቃሉ፡

114. P.L.b.5.

በዘመነ፡ሉቃስ፡በመልዓስ፡ፀሐይ፡ያሬድ፡እለቅነት፡በሊቀ፡ጠበብት፡እድቁ፡ሹመት፡በመስከረ
ም፡በ፩ ቀ፡እኑድ፡የንዋይን፡እሪም፡የተክለ፡ማርያም፡እዪ፡ተክለ፡ጊዮርጊስ፡ስጥተዋል፡ደ
ብተሮችም፡ሰጥተውታል፡

115. P.L.b.6.

በዘመነ፡ሉቃስ፡በመልእክ፡ፀሐይ፡እብሳዲ፡ሹመት፡በጥቅምት፡በ፳፯ ቀ፡ማክሰኛ፡ካባ፡ገ
ብረ፡መስቀል፡የገዙትን፡እሪም፡ባላምራስ፡እረምኃ፡እዪ፡ተክለ፡ጊዮርጊስ፡ላቤቶ፡ቢያድኃ፡
ቀድሶ፡ዴደርበት፡ብሎ፡አሉ፡።

116. P.L.b.7.

በዘመነ፡ማቴዎስ፡በመልእክ፡ገነት፡ወልደ፡ዮሐንስ፡እለቅነት፡ያባ፡ወልደ፡ኪሮስን፡እሪም፡
እዪ፡ደሙ፡ለግራ፡ጌታ፡ወልደ፡ሚካኤል፡ሰጥተዋል፡የታዘዘው፡እጋፋሪ፡ሀብቱ፡ነው፡መሳክር
ቱ፡ሊቁ፡በጸሎቱ፡እቤቶ፡እደሩ፡እፈ፡ንጉሥ፡ወንድ፡እርድ፡ሊቀ፡መዘምሮ፡ወልደ፡ኪሮስ፡ገ
ራ፡ጌታ፡ዘፈጣሪ፡ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡መንክር፡ኖርጌ፡ገብሩ፡እባ፡ላንትብዩ፡እድቁ፡እባ፡እሞኔዎ
ስ፡እባ፡ማኅፀንቱ፡

117. P.L.b.8.

ባለቃ፡ፍቁር፡እለቅነት፡እዬ፡ተክለ፡ጊዮርጊስ፡የሰጡትን፡የሊቀ፡መዘምሮ፡ወልደ፡ተክሌን፡እ
ሪም፡የቅብራየልን፡፪ ምድር፡በጅዋርጌ፡፪ ምድር፡የባላምራስ፡ሪምኃን፡ላቤቶ፡እደሩ፡እዬ፡
ደሞ፡ሰጥተዋል፡መሳክርቱ፡ሊቀ፡መዘምሮ፡ወልደ፡ኪሮስ፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡ዘፈጣሪ፡ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡መ
ንክር፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡ወልደ፡ሚካኤል፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡ላንትብዩ፡ኖርጌ፡ገብሩ፡ጭምት፡እድቁ፡

118. P.L.b.9.

በመልእክ፡ገነት፡ወርቁ፡እለቅነት፡የዲማ፡እድሜን፡እሪም፡የበለሳውን፡የወጠምቡንም፡የዶ
ሳሃንም፡ባለቃ፡ወልደ፡ገብርኤል፡እዬ፡ደሞ፡ስጥተዋል፡መሳክርቱ፡ሊቀ፡መዘምሮ፡ወል
ደ፡ኪሮስ፡ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡መንክር፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡ወልደ፡ሚካኤል፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡ዘፈጣሪ፡ላንትብዩ፡ኖር
ጌ፡ገብሩ፡ደብተሮችም፡ሁሉ፡እቤቶ፡እደሩ፡እቤቶ፡ተክለ፡ሥላሴ፡እዮኤል፡ክንፈ፡ጭምት፡
እባ፡ማኅፀንቱ፡እድቁ፡መምር፡እሴር፡

119. P.L.b.10.

በዘመነ፡ማቴዎስ፡የእባ፡ተልሚድን፡የመካኑን፡፪ ምድር፡ተቅራና፡ካባ፡ዋካ፡የተገዛውን፡ለ

ሊቄ፡ኒሩት፡እጼ፡ጌሌ፡ሠጥተዋል፡በአለቃ፡ወልደ፡ገብርኤል፡አለቅነት፡ታዘ፡ያጸፈው፡ሊጋ
ባ፡ከብቴ፡ነው፡

120. P.L.b.11.

ዘይማም፡

በዘመነ፡ማቴዎስ፡በዓፄ፡ጌሌ፡መንግሥት፡በመልአክ፡ብርሃኖት፡ጌሌ፡ሹመት፡በሊቀ፡መዘም
ሬን፡ገብረኪዳን፡ሹመት፡የአባ፡የአባ፡አጽፎን፡፱ምድር፡በወይና፡የለውን፡ዓፄ፡ጌሌ፡ለይማ
ም፡ይቀድስበት፡ብለው፡ስጥተዋል፡የታዘዘውም፡አፈንጉሥ፡ኪዳነ፡ማርያም፡ደብተሮችም፡
ፈቅደዋል፡ይሕም፡እንዳይፈርስ፡ተገዝቶአል።

121. P.L.b.12.

በዘመነ፡ዮሐንስ፡በመልአክ፡ፀሐይ፡ወልደ፡ማርያምና፡በሊቀ፡ጠበብት፡ኃይሉሹመት፡እጼጌሌ፡
የነጋድራስ፡አጽቁን፡እሪም፡ለሻለቃ፡መረግደ፡ሰጥታል፡ደብሩም፡መክረው፡ሰጥተዋል፡

122. P.L.b.13.

በዘመነ፡ዮሐንስ፡በአፄ፡ጌሌ፡መንግሥት፡የቃቤት፡ወልደ፡ገብርኤልን፡እሪም፡የይሣሃን፡ለመ
ልአክ፡ገነት፡ገብረ፡ሥላሴ፡እፄ፡ጌሌ፡ደብተሮችም፡ሰጥተዋል፡የጋሻ፡ጃግራ፡አናሬዎን፡እ
ሪም፡ምሉውን፡የታዘዘው፡እቤል፡ነው፡መሳክርቱ፡ሊቀ፡ላንት፡ብየ፡አለቃ፡ወልደ፡ገብርኤል፡
ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡መንክር፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡ከብቴ፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡ገብሩ፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡አጽቁ፡ቤት፡ጠባቂ፡ገ
ብሩ፡እሙ፡አባ፡ሣህሉ፡መምሬ፡ማኃፀንቱ፡ደብተራ፡ጥምት፡ሐዓኑ፡አባ፡ወልደ፡ፈፋ
ኤል፡

123. P.L.b.14.

በዘመነ፡ማርቆስ፡ባፄ፡ኢዮአስ፡መንግሥት፡ከፋፋኤል፡እሪም፡፱ምድር፡ከቅራና፡ሰው፡ያሊ
ያዛው፡የነበረ፡፱ምድር፡ከቅራናውን፡ለሊቀ፡ካህናት፡ዘውጉ፡ይቀድሱበት፡ብሎ፡ሰጥተዋል፡
፫ምድር፡ለውር፡ከብቴ፡ሰጥተዋል፡የትእዘዘው፡አፈ፡ንጉሥ፡ኪዳነ፡ማርያም፡ነው፡መሣክ
ርቱም፡መሪጌታ፡ተክሉ፡ቀኚ፡ጌታ፡ፀደሉ፡ግራጌታ፡ጥበቡ፡ቤት፡ጠባቂ፡ጌቶችም፡ቀኚጌ
ታ፡አፅቁ፡ደብተራ፡ወልደ፡ሥላሴ፡እሞችም፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡ሠርፁና፡መምሕራ፡ወልደ፡አረጋዊ፡
መጪኤው፡ወልደ፡ተክሌ፡በቀረውም፡ደብተሮቹ፡ናቸው፡ይኸም፡እንዳይፈርስ፡እጪጌ፡ወል
ደ፡ዮና፡ገዝተዋል።

124. P.L.b.15.

በዘመነ፡ማቴዎስ፡በአፄ፡ጊጋር፡መንግሥት፡በመልአክ፡ገነት፡እቤጄሌክ፡አለቅነት፡የሌቀ፡
መዝምር፡ንዋይን፡እሪም፡ለመልአክ፡ፀሐይ፡ስነ፡ድንግል፡ሰጥተዋል፡እፄ፡ጊጋር፡የታዘዘው፡
አፈ፡ንጉሥ፡ኪዳነ፡ማርያም፡መሰከርቱ፡ሊቀ፡መዘምር፡ውቤ፡አለቃ፡ወልደ፡ገብርኤል፡አለ
ቃ፡ገብረ፡ማርያም፡ቀኝጌታ፡ዩዋ፡ድንግል። ቤት፡ጠባቂ፡ጌታ፡አይቸህ። መጪኤው፡እንግ
ዳ፡ወርቅ፡መምሕርኒሩት። በቀረው፡ደብተሮችሁሉ፡ናቸው።

125. P.L.b.16.

በዘመነ፡ማቴዎስ፡ባፄ፡ሣህሉ፡መንግሥት፡በመልአክ፡ብርሃኖት፡አጽቁ፡በሊቀ፡መዘምራ
ን፡ወልደ፡ያሬድ፡ሹመት፡የመምሬ፡ኃይለ፡ክርስቶስ፡ምሉኡን፡እሪም፡ሱፍ፡አንቀራ፡፲ም
ድር፡፫ቦታ፡ዋዋ፡፲ምድር፡፬ቦታ፡ለኑዲት፡ኃይሉ፡እፄ፡ሣህሉ፡ደብተሮችም፡ሰጥተዋል፡
መሳክርቱ፡ሊቃውንቱ፡ናቸው፡

126. P.L.b.17.

በዘመነ፡ሉቃስ፡በመልእክ፡ገነት፡ተክሉ፡አለቅነት፡እፄ፡ሣህሉ፡ላለቃ፡ገብረ፡ማርያም፡የሊ
ቀ፡መዘምር፡ወልደ፡ኪርኮን፡እሪም፡ያልተሸጠውን፡የደንብያውንም፡የበለሳውንም፡ሰጥተዋ
ል፡መሳክርቱ፡አለቃ፡ወልደ፡ጊጋር፡ሊቀ፡መዘምር፡ገብረ፡ኪዳን፡አለቃ፡ወልደ፡ማርያም፡
ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ጽጌ፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡እንግዳ፡ወርቅ፡ቤት፡ጠባቂ፡ጌታ፡ገብረ፡አረጋቂ፡መጪኔው፡ገብ
ረ፡ጊዮርጊስ፡ዕቃ፡ቤቱ፡መምሬ፡እስቤ፡በቀረው፡ደብተሮቹ፡ሁሉ፡የታዘዘው፡ልጅ፡ገብረ፡
ማርያም፡

127. P.L.b.18.

በዘመነ፡ዮሐንስ፡በፄ፡ሣህሉ፡መንግሥት፡በመልእክ፡ገነት፡እቢጄሌክ፡አለቅነት፡የመልእክ፡
ፀሐይ፡ሮባምን፡ሪም፡የቅብራኤልን፡የትቢያን፡፫ም፡፩ቦታ፡እፄ፡ሣህሉ፡ለመልእክ፡ገነት፡
እቢጄሌክ፡ልጅ፡ለጽጌ፡ሰጥተዋል፡ታዘ፡የመጣውም፡ገብር፡እስከ፡ዜና፡ነው፡መሳክርቱ
ም፡ሊቀ፡መዘምር፡ገብረ፡ኪዳን፡አለቃ፡ገብረ፡ማርያም፡ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡እንግዳ፡ወርቅ፡ቤ
ት፡ጠባቂ፡ኃይሉ፡መጪኔው፡ገብረ፡አረጋቂ፡እሙ፡መምሬ፡ኪዳን፡ማርያም፡ዕቃ፡ቤቱ
ም፡ደብተራ፡ከብቱ፡በቀረው፡ደብተሮቹ፡ሁሉ፡ናቸው፡

128. P.L.b.19.

በዘመነ፡ዮሐንስ፡በመልእክ፡ገነት፡ተክሉ፡አለቅነት፡እፄ፡ሣህሉ፡የጎንጅ፡ኪዳን፡ወልድን፡እሪ
ም፡የደብያውንም፡የበለሳውንም፡ለአለቃ፡ወልደ፡አረጋቂ፡ያገልግሉበት፡ብለው፡ሰጥተዋል፡መ
ሳክርቱ፡አለቃ፡ወልደ፡ጊጋር፡አለቃ፡ገብረ፡ማርያም፡ሊቀ፡መዘምር፡ገብረ፡ኪዳን፡ቤት፡
ጠባቂ፡ጌታ፡ገብረ፡አረጋቂ፡በቀረው፡ደብተሮቹ፡ሁሉ፡የታዘዘው፡አባ፡ወልደ፡ኢየሱስ፡

129. P.L.b.20.

እፄ፡ሣህሉ፡በመንግሥተዎ፡የሊቀ፡ካህናት፡ወልደ፡እየሱስን፡እሪም፡ለደብተራ፡ፀባሕት፡ዴ
ገባዋል፡ብለው፡ሰጥተዋል፡ሹማምቱም፡ደብተሮቹም፡ፈቅደውለታል፡

130. P.L.c.1.

በመልእክ፡ብርሃናት፡ክፍላ፡ማርያም፡በሊቀ፡መዘምራን፡ጎርጎርዮስ፡ሹመት፡ቦች፡የሐቂ
ቅን፡ምድር፡ለግራ፡ጌታ፡አሥራት፡ደብተሮቹ፡ሹማምቱም፡መክረው፡ሰጥተዋል፡እፄ፡
ኢየሱስ፡በነገሡ፡በ፳ ዓመት፡

131. P.L.c.2.

በወዴዘሮ፡ወላንያ፡እጅ፡የነበረውን፡የወዴናውን፡ምድር፡የደጃእዝማች፡ደረሶ፡የልጅዎ፡ደብ
ተሮቹ፡ዴገበዋል፡ብሎ፡ሰጥተዋል፡

132. P.L.c.3.

እሪመዎ፡ስላነሰ፡ያቃቤ፡ሰዓት፡ከብቱ፡መጪመርያ፡፱ እሞ፡ማያጌ፡አምደ፡መስቀል፡ያረሰው፡
፪ እ፡፳፮፡አውሴማዲቅስ፡ያረሰ፡። እዱመኝ፡ወልደ፡ማርያም፡ያረሰ፡፪ እ፡በታሙቀኝ፡ደደ
ቃ፡፩ እ፡በሸር፡ያረሰው፡፩ እ፡የምስሉ፡፩ ቦታ፡የረቅያ፡፩ ቦታ፡የሙዚት፡፲፪ቱም፡ሹማምት፡
ደብተራውም፡ሁሉ፡ሰጥተዋል፡

133. P.L.c.4.

በእፄ፡ኢዮአስ፡መንግሥት፡በጾቴ፡ወለተ፡ጊዮርጊስ፡ጾቴግነት፡በቄሳዴ፡አጾንቴ፡ቄሳፄነት፡በመሪ፡ጌታ፡ቅንዋት፡ሹመት፡ከክማርዋ፡የ፲፭፡ጨፌ፡ምድር፡አንግሥተው፡ለአዛዢ፡ቴዎድሮስ፡ደብተሮች፡ሰጥተዋል፡አቡነ፡ተ

134. P.L.c.5.

በመልአከ፡ፀሐይ፡ሣህሉ፡አለቅ፡ነት፡በሊቀ፡ጠቡብት፡አንግደ፡ሹመት፡አለቃ፡ወልደ፡አግዚእ፡ለቤተ፡ክርስቲያን፡የሰጡትን፡አሪም፡ያገልግሉበት፡ብለው፡ደብሩ፡ላለቃ፡ኃይሉ፡ሰጥተዋል፡

135. P.L.c.6.

በመልአከ፡ፀሐይ፡ስነ፡ድንግል፡ዓለቅነት፡የወደዘር፡ወለተ፡ኪዳንን፡የዳዊት፡ደጋሚውን፡አሪም፡ለአባ፡ኃይሉ፡ሰጥተዋል፡ደብሩም፡አለቃውም፡

136. P.L.c.7.

ዘኪቴዎን፡ሐማ

አቶ፡ዴማም፡ለኪቴዎ፡ሐማ፡አሰጥተዎል፡ደብተሮች፡ሰጥተዋል፡

137. P.L.c.8.

በዘመነ፡ማቴዎስ፡ባፄ፡ሣህሉ፡መንግሥት፡ባለቃ፡ፀዳሉ፡አለቅነት፡ባለቃ፡ትኩ፡መሪ፡ጌትነት፡በግራ፡ጌታ፡ወልደ፡ተክሌ፡ሹመት፡በቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ንጉሤ፡ሱመት፡ቤት፡ጠባቂ፡ጌቶች፡መሪ፡ጌታ፡ገብረ፡ሚካኤልና፡ደብተራ፡ወርቄ፡አፄ፡ጓሉና፡አፄ፡ሣህሉ፡ለባላምበራስ፡አጾሞትሁኖ፡የሰጥዋቸውን፡ያረጋጁን፡ምድር፡ባላምበራስ፡አጾሞትሁኖ፡ለቤተ፡ክርስቲያኑ፡የሰጡትን፡ምድር፡ለሊቄ፡ገብረ፡ኪዳን፡ደብተሮች፡ሹማምቱም፡መልሰዋል፡ጥንትም፡ገንዘባቸው፡ነው፡

138. P.L.c.9.

ቀኝጌታ፡ደርሶ፡አጾቼው፡ለንስሐ፡አባቴ፡ለመምራ፡ወልደ፡ተክሌ፡አባቴ፡አድጎአጾቸው፡ከንዋየ፡ኪሮስ፡ሪም፡ከአቶ፡አማዬ፡የገዙትን፡በወቄት፡ወርቅ፡አቸርጌ፡የለውን፡፩ ምድር፡ከሀብሌ፡፪ ምድር፡ተቅራና፡፩ ቦታ፡ሰጥቸዋለሁ፡ብላል፤ አኩሌታውንም፡ደብተሮች፡ሰጥተዋል፡

139. P.L.c.10.

በዘመነ፡ማርቆስ፡መልአከ፡ብርሃናት፡ገብሩ፡በሊቀ፡መዘምራን፡ምስጋድ፡ሹመት፡ጎርጎራ፡የፀበል፡ደጋሚውን፡አፄ፡ሣህሉ፡ለብላታ፡ኃይሉ፡ሰጥተዋል፡ደብተሮችም፡ሠጥተዋል፡ለትርንጎ፡ኃይሉ፡

140. P.L.d.1.

በቀዳሚ፡በዘመነ፡ንጉሥነ፡ናሕድ፡ጉልት፡ዘተውሳበ፡ኋይት፡ለየማን፡ደብተራ፡ገብሩ፡ወወልደ፡ዘርአ፡መስቀል፡ወድሳረሂ፡በዘመነ፡ንጉሥነ፡ልብነ፡ድንግል፡ወኮነ፡ዘመነ፡ስደት፡ወሞተ፡ውእቱ፡ደብተራ፡በስደት፡ወኢተረፈ፡ሎቱ፡ወልድ፡ዘእንበለ፡ወለት፡ወካዕበ፡በዘመነ፡ንጉሥነ፡ገላውዴዎስ፡አውረሰቶ፡ደእቲ፡ወለት፡ለመሃተመ፡ሥላሴ። ። ። ዘሄደ፡ወዘተአገሎ፡ው

141. P.L.d.2.

ባፄ፡ቴዎፍሎስ፡መንግሥት፡ወደዘር፡ማሚት፡በዓታን፡ልትከል፡ዴፍቀደልኝ፡ቢሉ፡እኔ፡ፈ

ቅጂለሁ፡ካህናቱን፡እስፈቅጅ፡አሉ፡ካህናቱ፡ግብራችንሳ፡ቢሉ፡ደርቤ፡እገብራለሁ፡ብለው፡
 ፴፫ ም፡ተቅራና፡የጌ መራኅት፡የመንጣሪ፡፰ ምድ፡ከ፻፶ ም፡እንስተው፡ለልጆቻው፡በዓታ፡
 ቀድሱበት፡ብለው፡ሰጥተዋል፡ታቦቲቱ፡ለመድኃኔ፡ዓለም፡ደል፡ያዪ፡ቆሎ፡ትገብር፡ለመሥ
 ዋዕት፡ብለው፡እስወግዘዋል፡መራኅቱ፡ማቴዎስ፡ታይዎስ፡ከናፍሮ፡ድሜጥሮስ፡ዋኒ፡ተክ
 ሎ፡ዘራዴ፡ደሜ፡፰ተኛ፡ሥዕርቱና፡እደዴ፡ዴህ፡እንዳይፈርስ፡በሥልጣነ፡ሴጥሮስ፡ወጸውሎ
 ከ፡ውጉዘ፡ይኩን፡

142. P.L.d.3.

እዪ፡በካፋ፡በነገሡ፡በ፯ ዓመት፡ገዳማዊ፡ማሞ፡እሪመዎን፡ለወሰንጌ፡ኖናክንዲስ፡እንደ፡
 ሰጡ፡ልጅነው፡ብሎ፡እጅግ፡ከብት፡አለብኝ፡ብለው፡መሳክርት፡ሊቄ፡ጌርጊስ፡አዛጅ፡በትሬ፡
 አዛጅ፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖት፡መልእክት፡ብርሃናት፡ፀሐየ፡ልዳ፡ሊቀ፡መዞምራን፡ጎርጎርዮስ፡አዛ
 ጅግ፡እሳይያስ፡አዛጅ፡ጳውሎስ፡ልጅዎም፡ገብረ፡ድንግል፡ከደብተሮችም፡አለፈ፡ወልደ፡ጌር
 ጌስ፡እቤት፡ተላፈኖስ፡አውሳብዮስ፡እንጦዮስ፡ያመረ፡ኖሳ፡አባ፡ኖሐኒ፡አለቃው፡መምህር፡
 ንዋየ፡ማርያም፡መምህር፡ፈልጶስ፡መምህር፡ታናሽ፡አባ፡ክርካር፡የፈ፡ኖሐንስ፡አባ፡ማ
 ጎተመ፡ክርስቶስ፡እንገረብ፡እሳይያስ፡ደብሳን፡ናትናሌል፡እቆንዮን፡ጋሹ፡ወልደ፡ኤዎስጣቱ
 ዎስ፡ምዕዳን፡ማሞ፡አባ፡አየሌ፡መምህር፡ዘወልድ፡አባ፡እስክንድስ፡ክሣይ፡ወልደ፡ጋጅ፡
 ጌ፡ማሞ፡እቤት፡አርስ፡ሥላሴ፡እቤት፡አርስ፡ሥሉስ፡አባ፡ስኖ፡አባ፡ዝክራ፡ጌኝጅ፡ገብረ፡
 ድንግል፡አበ፡ኮቦት፡ሐዝቆያስ፡እቤት፡ሀብተ፡ድንግል፡እቤት፡ወልደ፡እግዚአብሔር፡ገብረ፡
 ልዑል፡ፀሐየ፡ልዳ፡እስክንድሮስ፡አባ፡አብርሃም፡ዘርእ፡ቡራክ፡ዘፈራ፡ዘጸረቅሊጦስ፡ወልደ፡
 ሥላሴ፡ኒሩት፡አድባራቱ፡ሁሉ፡ያውቃሉ፡

143. P.L.d.4.

በዘመነ፡ማቴዎስ፡በዓዪ፡እያሉ፡በብርሃን፡ሰገድ፡መንግሥት፡በእቡነ፡ክርስቶስ፡ጳጳስነት፡
 በዶጪጌ፡ዘወልደ፡ማርያም፡ዶጪግነት፡በጅርወንድ፡ሰፎንያስ፡የማርያም፡ደብር፡የመስቀ
 ል፡ምድራቸውን፡በቀሐሪ፡ያለውን፡ላቤት፡ወልደ፡ኖና፡ሰጥተዋል፡መሳክርቱ፡ሊቃውንቱ፡ናቸ
 ው፡ዶሐ፡እንዳይፈርስ፡እቡን፡ዶጪጌ፡ገዝተዋል፡

144. P.L.d.5.

የደጅ፡አዝማች፡ሚካኤል፡ልጅ፡እቤት፡ወልደ፡ሐዋርያት፡ከወይዘሮ፡አልጣሺ፡ጋራ፡ሲጋቡ፡አ
 ባታዎ፡የሰጠዎን፡ምድር፡አድ፡አቦ፡ዝሐይ፡አድረብ፡አጉራ፡መቃብር፡ደቅና፡አድ፡አምሐራ፡
 አድ፡ጌንሶ፡ጸሊም፡ባይታ፡ድብራሬ፡አድ፡ዝባን፡እንዞና፡ቀይሐ፡ምድሪ፡ግብስስ፡ምጃቅ፡
 አድ፡ጉምቢ፡ዴህ፡፲፭ቱ፡የናእዴር፡ምድር፡ነው፡ገብገብ፡አፍ፡ጌሜ፡ድብዛ፡ከዓይባ፡፲፪
 ጭቃ፡በአድቅ፡ሳንዲን፡፲፪ ጭቃ፡ከተምቤን፡እድግብ፡ሰሪዝባ፡ከአባርገሌ፡ዋልዋ፡ደሮዝባ፡
 ባርጸኔ፡ከልዋራ፡ጋምጫ፡ልበባርፋ፡ማይ፡ጭልምየናቱ፡አገር፡ጋርቃምባ፡ወግር፡ጸባ፡ላይ፡አ
 ድ፡ሰላም፡ታች፡አድ፡ሰላም፡አድ፡ቀሺ፡ማይ፡ተክሊ፡መርበት፡እስገደ፡አድ፡አብዬ፡አድ፡ደ
 ናጉል፡ቢታንያ፡ከርፋሆ፡ኑና፡ማእከይ፡አምፈ፡ማይ፡ዕባራ፡ብራቅ፡አድ፡ሰገን፡አድ፡ቀደሶ
 ም፡ሐዲስ፡ዓዲ፡አድ፡ዕኖ፡ሠራጸ፡አምኾ፡አድ፡ሐንክራ፡አድ፡አቀይት፡አድ፡ሸሐይ፡አድ፡ነቂ
 ዞም፤ለዜህ፡ዋሶቹ፡ላባቱ፡አገር፡እቤት፡ቴዎድሮስ፤ለናቱ፡አገር፡ዋሱ፡ንቡረ፡አድ፡ተክሌ፡

145. P.L.d.6.

የደጅአዝማች፡ነጮ፡አገር፡ለልጆዎ፡የሰጡ፡ያቤት፡ክንፉ፡አርማጭሆ፡ቦች፡ኖርአምባ፡የዚ
 ህ፡ግብራ፡፻፶፬ ሺማ፡መጠቅለያው፡፫፻፹፭ ጪው፡አድናየም፡፪፻፶፬ ጪው፡ነው፡ካዪ፡
 ፋሲል፡ሐየናት፡ካቤት፡ማርቆስ፡ሐየናት፡ዴህ፡ሲሶ፡ርስቱ፡የተለየ፡ነው፡ጭልቄን፡እግርደ

ምበቅ፡ ረለዛ፡ ሰርዜ፡ ዘለሳ፡ ጻል፡ ጃርማ፡ ሱከዳ፡ እደገደ፡ እርበገብላ፡ እንጭድባ፡ ደልጊ፡ ሺ
ባባ፡ እንኮራእምኤ፡ እንባኩላ፡ ዝባንደልጊ፡ እምባዳይት፡ ደረናሆ፡ የትኖራ፡ ኩሊታ፡ ፀብረ፡ ሐረ
ሺ፡ ወከቦር፡ መልሖስ፡ ታላቅ፡ ረለዛ፡ የዚህ፡ ግብሩ፡ ሺሕ፡ ጋባ፡ ፪ ሺሕ፡ መጠቅለያው፡ መያጋም፡
ትንብሖ፡ ደብር፡ ጀርገጅ፡ ይህ፡ የጥለት፡ እህል፡ ነው፡ ይህ፡ የርስት፡ ጉልት፡ ነው፡ ጨንቃ፡ ጃን
ድባ፡ ደብዳ፡ ማላ፡ ይህን፡ ከመነኮስት፡ ሲሶ፡ የምበሳንኪላው፡ ነው፡ ድንኩር፡ እቸራ፡ ረልረል፡
ጭልል፡ ፋጪና፡ ይህን፡ ካዜ፡ እያሱ፡ ልጃችና፡ ከቀላጃች፡ በሲሶ፡ የምገዛው፡ ነው፡ በጃን፡ ረቀ
ራ፡ በወርቅ፡ ምድር፡ ያንድ፡ ቀበሌ፡ ነው፡ ግብሩ፡ ፪፻፹ ሺማ፡ ነው፡ መሻሚያው፡ ወቄት፡ ወርቅ፡
ነው፡ በጸገዴም፡ እድሐምሌ፡ እድለረራቢ፡ ጽለሎ፡ ጨገርሆደ፡ የደጋ፡ እገረዎን፡ እንጭናቅ፡
ጋባ፡ ምሉ፡ ዝፋን፡ ናርቸች፡ የዝፋን፡ እኩሌታ፡ ሰወጉሎ፡ የዝፋን፡ እኩሌታ፡ ሰራምኤ፡ የዝፋን፡
እኩሊታ፡ እድሪድባ፡ ቦች፡ ከኮዛ፡ ካረብያ፡ ገሰር፡ ከዳብሎ፡ የደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ እሪም፡ ኮስማን፡ ኮ
ብራወምበርጌ፡ ሺ፡ የዚህ፡ ግብሩ፡ ሺሕ፡ ከ፪፻፶ ጪው፡ ነው፡ የዘማል፡ የመስቀል፡ ርስተዎ፡ ፴፫
ደብር፡ ነው፡ በተገራ፡ እጋሚያ፡ ሰገል፡ እጉእደ፡ ምጋራ፡ ፀምር፡ ፀእዳምባ፡ ከደራም፡ ቢዛቂት፡ ወ
ረብ፡ ቅዱሶ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ጽዮን፡ ነው፡ በደጋም፡ ዝፋን፡ ዎ፡ ወንደእጣሺ፡ ይቴጌም፡ ያውቁታል፡ ላሰላ
ፊ፡ ገድሎ፡ ሰጥቸው፡ እንደነበር፡ ይቴጌ፡ ቢቆጡኝ፡ እሳላፊ፡ የባርያምባርያ፡ ይዘውታል፡ በደጋም፡
ዝፋን፡ ወርቅ፡ እምላሺ፡ ኪዳነ፡ ወልድ፡ ቀምቶ፡ ይዞት፡ ነበር፡ እርሱን፡ ከገድልሎ፡ በጅ፡ ነበር፡ እሱ
ንም፡ ይቴጌ፡ ቢቆጡኝ፡ እራስ፡ ይዘውታል፡ ያደራ፡ ርስቱ፡ ከገበያ፡ በታች፡ እስከ፡ እንገረብ፡ ገንታ፡
መልከኛ፡ እይገባብኝም፡ በዘንግ፡ እገብራለሁ።

ድመር፡ በ፶፫ አገር፡ ግብር፡ ፯ሺሕ፡ ከ፯፻፴ ጪው፡ ሺሕ፡ ከ፪፻ ጋባ፡ ፫፻፴፬ ሺማ፡ ደጅእዝማች፡
ነጮ፡ ከወይዘሮ፡ እስቲር፡ ለለወለደት፡ ልጅዎ፡ ያቤቶ፡ ክንፉ፡ እዜ፡ ይመቱ፡ ሰጥቼአለሁ፡ አሉ፡ መ
ሳክርቱ፡ ሌቄ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ሌቄ፡ ግብሩ፡ ሌቄ፡ ፋሲሎ፡ ሌቄ፡ ቦተራ፡ እዛጅ፡ እቤሌሎም፡ እዛጅ፡ ዮናታን፡
ሌቄ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ ዳግም፡ እዛዢ፡ እቤሌሎም፡ በዘመነ፡ ማቴዎስ፡ መጋቢት፡ በ፲፮ ቀን፡ ቅዳሜ፡

146. P.L.d.7.

በዘመነ፡ ማርቆስ፡ ሠረቀ፡ ሐምሌ፡ በ፪ ቀን፡ ስኞ፡ በመልእክ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ናሁዳ፡ ሹመት፡ በሊቀ፡ ጠበ
ብት፡ በትሩ፡ ሹመት፡ እባ፡ እደራ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ እሪመዎን፡ ፪ ጋሻ፡ ባጃና፡ ፩ ጋ፡ እብናት፡ የክርስት
ና፡ ልጅዎ፡ ለወለተ፡ ሕይወት፡ ሰጥተዋታል፡ ፱፱፻ እንጂራ፡ ተዝካራን፡ ያውፁ፡ የስራሁትን፡ ሰራ፡
ያረረስ፡ ውጉዘ፡ ይኩን፡ ቦለሳን፡ ለወለተ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ለልጅ፡ ሰጥቻልሁ፡ አሉ፡

147. P.L.d.8.

ለወይዘሮ፡ እደዶ፡ ሊቀ፡ መዘምራን፡ ተላፊኖስ፡ የዋዋን፡ እሪም፡ ከለ፡ ቤቱ፡ የደብረ፡ ብርሃኑን፡
ከቤት፡ ንጉሡ፡ ምላሺ፡ ሠቀላውን፡ የወይናን፡ በራ፡ የቤት፡ ዕቃ፡ የተባለን፡ ሰጥቻለሁ፡ ቢርባ
ትም፡ ሺጣ፡ ትብላ። ለብቻሽ፡ የልደታን፡ እሪም፡ ከደብረ፡ ብርሃኑ፡ ቤተ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ጋራ፡ ሰጥቻ፡
አለሁ፡ የወይናን፡ ምድር፡ ለምናሴ፡ ሰጥቻለሁ፡ ርስትግን፡ የተባለን፡ ለሁለቱ፡ ሰጥቻለሁ፡ ተ
ዝክር፡ ባንድ፡ ያውዱ፡

148. P.L.d.9.

በዘመነ፡ ሉቃስ፡ በእዜ፡ ኢዮአስ፡ መንግሥት፡ በአለቃ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ አለቅነት፡ እዛዢ፡ ኪዳኔ፡ ቤተዎ
ን፡ ሲሰሩ፡ ከወይዘሮ፡ ሉሊት፡ ለተወለደችው፡ ልጅ፡ ለእሴቱ፡ ፫ ሪም፡ የረፋኤል፡ ካእዛዢ፡ ተደሴ
ዎስ፡ ልዢ፡ ከእዢ፡ ዮናታን፡ በወርቅ፡ የተገዛውን፡ ቃህሪን፡ ይብስሪን፡ የልደታን፡ ቦታ፡ ከበጅሮ
ንድ፡ ዮርዳኖስ፡ የተገዛውን፡ ይህ፡ እድልዎ፡ ነው፡ በላይ፡ ሰጥቻለሁ፡ ፪ ወርቅ፡ ቸተል፡ የናት
ን፡ ሸጪ፡ በልቼአለሁና፡ ስራዬ፡ ስለዚህ፡ ነው፡ የቀረውንም፡ እደዋን፡ ከቶቻ፡ ከወንድሞቻ፡ ትካ

ፈልጎት ለዚህም ምክክር፡ አባ፡ ተክሌ፡ አባ፡ እሾሜ፡ ወልደ፡ ልዑል፡ እሞቹ፡ መሪጌታ፡ ማኅፀን
ቱ፡ ሳቁኤል፡ አባ፡ ወልደ፡ ኪሮስ፡ በቀረውም፡ ደብተሮቹ፡ ሸሁሉ፡ ናቸው፡

149. P.L.d.10.

በአፄ፡ኢዮአስ፡መንግሥት፡በመልአክ፡ገነት፡ወልደ፡ልዑል፡ሹመት፡አማራ፡ክፍለ፡ጊዮርጊ
ስ፡ከባሻ፡ዳርዬ፡ቤት፡፲፪ት፡ዓመት፡በልብስ፡በቀለብ፡ደስ፡እስመቸተውኛል፡ብሎ፡እራሙ
ን፡ሲሰጥ፡ለልጇዎ፡ለወይዘሮ፡ምርጸት፡መሳክርቱ፡አለዎ፡ፋሲል፡ቤት፡ጠባቂ፡ካሶ፡እቃ፡ቤ
ት፡አባ፡በትሩ፡ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡መጽሔት፡አባ፡ምትክ፡መጨኔ፡ንፍታሌም፡ብላቴን፡ጌታ፡እቤሴ
ሉም፡መልአክ፡ፀሐይ፡ቴዎድሮስ፡ወበሩ፡ሌቂ፡ኃይሉ፡

150. P.L.d.11.

የወደዘር፡ ሳንቶ፡ ጉልት፡ ጋዴሳ፡ ብሆን፤ ሞራ፤ ጋባ፤ ድርማአራ፤ ጫፍ፤ ቀኖ፤ ቀላቦች፤ ለ፡
አረብያ፤ አስፋ፤ ይህንን፡ የወደዘር፡ አልጣሺ፡ ሰጥቶ፡ አሉ፡ ሐምሌ፡ ሥላሴን፡ ዝከራ፡ ፪ ቀን፡
ብሉ፡ ተዝካራንም፡ በአመት፡ በአመት፡ አውፍ፤ ብሉ፡ ደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ ትቀድስበት፡ ብሉ፡ በ
ንስሐ፡ አባተዎ፡ በአባ፡ ግርማ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ አስገዝተው፡ ገናዜ፡ ቄስ፡ ወልደ፡ ሚካኤል፡ መዘዋ፡
፩ ምድር፡ የመቃብር፡ ጠባቂ፡ ሰጥቶ፡ አሉ፡ ለአር፡ ወልደ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ግራርደን፡ ለመብራት፡ ለሥ
ላስ፡

151. P.L.d.12.

ባዬ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ መንግሥት፡ በራስ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ቢትወደድነት፡ በመልእክ፡ ብርሃኖት፡ እኬሲሎም፡
 ሻመት፡ ራስ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ለልጇዎ፡ ለወይዘሮ፡ ወለተ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ የሰጠዎ፡ ሀገር፡ ኮዛን፡
 ዳብርን፡ የቁስቋም፡ ሪመዎን፡ ማንም፡ እይድረስባት፡ ብለዋል፡ እናተዎም፡ ወይዘሮ፡ ወለተ፡
 ሚካኤል፡ ሳብራሱሳን፡ የደብረ፡ ብርሃንን፡ ቦታዎን፡ ሰጥዋል፡ ይህንም፡ ሲሰጡ፡ በራስ፡ ሎሌ፡
 ባቤት፡ ገብረ፡ መሢሕ፡ ባዬ፡ ሎሌ፡ ባቤት፡ ወልደ፡ ኄር፡ ፊት፡ ጽሕፈት፡ ያስጸፉ፡ አባ፡ ወልደ፡ ሐ
 ዋርያት፡ ወልደ፡ ፋፋኤል፡ ሳቁኤል፡ ዘካርያስ፡ ወልደ፡ ገብርኤል፡ ናቸው፡ መሳክርት፡ ደብተሮች፡
 ሁሉ፡ ናቸው፡ በዳብርም፡ ደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ ይቀድሱበት፡ ብለዋል፡

152. P.L.d.13.

እቤት፡ ስኑ፡ ሲሉ፡ የደብረ፡ ብርሃንን፡ ቦታዬን፡ ያዛጋር፡ ያዕቆብን፡ ልጅ፡ ሣለገባ፡ በቅሎዬን፡ ሺጪ፡ የገዛሁትን፡ ለከብቴ፡ ለብቻው፡ ሰጥቼአለሁ። ከወይና፡ በወርቅ፡ የገዛሁትን፡ ምድር። ከፅፁ፡ ሕይወት፡ ልጅ፡ ጋራ፡ ለከብቴ፡ ሰጥቼ፡ አለሁ። ቦታው፡ ግን፡ ለከብቴ፡ ለብቻው፡ ሰጥቼአለሁ፡ አሉ።

153. P.L.d.14.

በዘመነ ማቴዎስ፡ በእለቃ፡ ያቦ፡ ባርያ፡ ሹመት ። ተክሌ፡ ጎሹ፡ ከደጅ፡ እዝማቸ፡ ብንያም፡
 ልጅ፡ ከወልደ፡ ቂርቆስ፤ የገዛውን፡ የሪም፡ እኩሌታ፡ የዳብሎን፡ የባካ፡ ሴጥሮስን፡ ለልጁ፡ ለተ
 ደልኝ፡ ልጆቹ፡ አደድረሱባት፡ ብሎ፡ ስጥትዋታል፡ ይሐንም፡ ያብተሮቹ፡ ሁሉ፡ ያውቃሉ፡

154. P.L.d.15.

በመልእክ፡ሮብእም፡ሹመት፡በሊቀ፡ጠበብት፡ገብረ፡ሥሉክ፡መልእክ፡ሰላም፡እጸፋ፡፻፺፬፡
የቋቋም፡ሪም፡ለደሞ፡ገብረ፡ማጼ፡ነጥቸቀለሁ፡ከባ፡ኪዳኑ፡እላድ፡ወርቅ፡የተበደሩትን፡
እላድ፡ወርቅ፡የድርብ፡ቁሬ፡እላድ፡ለሟ፡ፍታት፡እላድ፡ለዳዊት፡ደጋሚ፡ጸህን፡ተበድሮ፡ከፍ
ለልዋል፡፬ ወቁት፡ከእላድ፡ተዘካር፡እወጸሁ፡መሳክርቱ፡መምር፡ወልደ፡ኖና፡እላቃ፡እፅቁ፡

ርእሰ፡ደብር፡ጎዳና፡ሊቀ፡ጦበብት፡ዜና፡ገብርኤል፡ያሬድ፡እቤት፡ተክለ፡ጌርጊስ፡አለቃ፡ወልደ፡እግዚእ፡ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ፍቅሩ፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡ቂርቆስ፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡ስሎሞን፡ወልደ፡እግዚእብሔር፡በቀረውም፡ደብሩ፡ሁሉ፡ያውቃሉ፡

155. P.L.d.16.

በመልክ፡፡ፀሐይ፡፡ፎብኦም፡፡በሊቀ፡፡ጠቡብት፡፡ገብረ፡፡ሥሉስ፡፡ኹመት፡፡መሪ፡፡ወልደ፡፡ከበለሳ፡፡የጋ
ሻ፡፡እኩል፡፡ለወርቂት፡፡ሰጥቻለሁ፡፡የጋሻ፡፡እኩል፡፡በለሳን፡፡፩፡፡እብናትን፡፡ለአቤት፡፡ገብረ፡፡ሥ
ላኬ፡፡ሰጥቻለሁ፡፡እራቴን፡፡ልብሴን፡፡እስክሞት፡፡ድረስ፡፡ልጆች፡፡በመፁ፡፡ጊዜ፡፡ጥፋቱን፡፡እርሱ፡፡
በመሰከረ፡፡ሰጥቶ፡፡ደግቡ፡፡የዚህ፡፡ምስክሮች፡፡ምሉ፡፡ደብሩ፡፡ያውቃሉ፡፡ጸፈው፡፡እፅፈ፡፡ኪሮስ፡፡

156. P.L.d.17.

በዘመነ፡ሉቃስ፡ባሄ፡ተክለ፡ጊዮርጊስና፡ባሄ፡ኢያሱ፡መንግሥት፡የቂስ፡አሄ፡ዘወልድ፡ልጅ፡
ወደዘሮ፡ወለተ፡አቢብ፡ወገሬና፡ቤተ፡ልሔምን፡ዕየየን፡ለወደዘሮ፡እንጉዳዴ፡ለታናኸቱ፡ው
ሀ፡ቀድታ፡እሳት፡እንድዳ፡እገልግላች፡እለችና፡ሰጥቻታለሁ፡ታላቂቱ፡አትድረስባት፡ዴሕነ
ን፡የፈረሰ፡እንደሆን፡ርግማኔ፡ዴድረስባት፡እሉ፡መሳክርቱም፡የአቡነ፡ተክለ፡ሃይማ
ኖት፡ደብተሮች፡ሁሉ፡ናቸው፡

157. P.L.d.18.

በ፪፻፱ወ፪፻፱ወ፹ወቺ እመተ፡ ዓለም፡ በዘመነ፡ ሉቃስ፡ በጥቅምት፡ በ፯ቀ፡ ሐ፡ በመልእክ፡ ፀሐይ፡
ሣህሉ፡ ችመት፡ በሊቀ፡ ጠብብት፡ አጽቁ፡ በአባ፡ ወልደ፡ ኢሮስ፡ በተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ በእን
ግዳ፡ በአሳባፊ፡ ያሬድ፡ በወልደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በወልደ፡ ሚካኤል፡ በሉሊስ፡ በእኔህ፡ ችመት፡
እቃቤት፡ ማሞ፡ ሳለሁ፡ ያብሉኒ፡ ያልብሱኒ፡ ስሞት፡ ተዝካሬን፡ ያውዱልኒ፡ ብለው፡ ለወ
ይዘሮ፡ የውብ፡ ዳር፡ ተረጽመው፡ አጼ፡ ይመቱ፡ ብለው፡ ሰጥተዋል፡ ደብተሮቹ፡ ሁሉ፡ ያው
ቃሉ፡

158. P.L.d.19.

ባዩ፡ ዮናስ በመልእክ፡ ብርሃናት፡ የስላሴ፡ ባርያ፡ ትግራ፡ ወልደ፡ ሚካኤል፡ የጌንደራ፡ ሸደራ፡ ጊርጊስ፡ ቅፋፍ፡ ከሊቄ፡ ኃይሉ፡ የገዛዊን፡ የሪም፡ እኩል፡ ዳብሎ፡ ማርያም፡ ለእባ፡ ወልደ፡ ሐዋርያት፡ ሰጥተውታል፡ ስለሉ፡ ሰሞኑን፡ ሊቆም፡ በታመሙ፡ ጊዜ፡ ሊረዳ፡ በሞቱም፡ ጊዜ፡ ሊፈታ፡ ዳዊት፡ ሊያገመለት፡

159. P.L.d.20.

በጄኤሰርጃጃ በዘመነ፡ማርቆስ፡ሰኔ፡በባተ፡ባ፲፱ ቀን፡ባሄ፡ተክለ፡ጊዮርጊስ፡መንግሥት፡
ባለቃ፡ሄድ፡አለቅነት፡በሊዌ፡ኢራትም፡ሊቅነት፡ከመምሬ፡ወልደ፡ኢየሱስ፡ምድር፡ከጠፎዉ፡
ቅሬናውን፡አባ፡ወልደ፡ስምዖን፡ለመምሬ፡ገብረ፡ዮሐንስ፡ሰጡ፡ደህን፡ደዘው፡ደፍቱኝ፡ብለ
ው፡የዚኸም፡መሳክርቱም፡መሪ፡ጌታ፡አሣቡ፡ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ምህረቱ፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡ያቦ፡ሎሌ፡ቤ
ት፡ጠባቂ፡ጌቶች፡ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ክንፋና፡ጌታ፡ሌዊ፡እሞች፡አባ፡ወልደ፡ስምዖንና፡ፀዳሉ፡መ
ጪኔ፡አባ፡ኃለ፡ንጉሥ፡ፕሬንጠባቂ፡አባ፡ንፋ፡በቀረዉም፡ደብተሮች፡ያውቃሉ፡

160. P.L.d.21.

በእኔ፡ ሕዝቅያስ፡ መንግሥት፡ በአለቃ፡ ፍሬ፡ ሹመት፡ ወይዘሮ፡ ማርታ፡ ለወይዘሮ፡ ምርጸት፡ ተበድራ፡ አብልታኛለችና፡ ልጆቿ፡ በመጹ፡ ጊዜ፡ በመሰከረት፡ ከብቱአን፡ ያገቡ፡ ያለዚህ፡ ምድሩን፡ ሰጥቻታለሁ፡ ብለዋል፡ መሳክርቶቹ፡ ልቄ፡ ገብሩ፡ ናአባ፡ እድሌ፡ የንሥሐ፡ አባት፡ ናቸው፡

161. P.L.d.22.

በዘመነ፡ ማርቆስ፡ ባሕ፡ ተክለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ መንግሥት፡ ባለቃ፡ ሣህሉ፡ አለቅነት፡ መልአከ፡ ብርሃናት፡ ዜና፡ ገብርኤል፡ ሪማቸውን፡ ዳኛዮን፡ ለድሆ፡ ገብሩ፡ ደጃት፡ ይድገምልኝ፡ ብለው፡ ሳጥተዋል፡ መሳክርቱ፡ ሊቀ፡ መዘምር፡ ወልደ፡ ኪሮስ፡ ግራ፡ ጌታ፡ ዘፈጣሪ፡ ግራ፡ ጌታ፡ ወልደ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ቀኝ፡ ጌታ፡ መንክር፡ አባ፡ አሞኔዎስ፡ ደብተራ፡ አድቁ፡ ግራ፡ ጌታ፡ ለትብዩ፡ አቤቶ፡ ወርቀ፡ ዘበ፡

162. P.L.d.23.

በሄ፡ ተክለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ መንግሥት፡ ባለቃ፡ ዘአጋእዝት፡ በሊቀ፡ መዘምራን፡ ወልደ፡ ስምዖን፡ ሹመት፡ የመምራ፡ ርእሰ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ የልጅ፡ ልጅ፡ ወይዘሮ፡ ወርቂት፡ በደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ በቀለሙጅ፡ ያለኝን፡ ሁሉ፡ ለርእሶ፡ ደብር፡ ኪዳኑ፡ ሰጥቻለሁ፡ አሉ፡ ብዙ፡ ዘመን፡ አገልግሎኛል፡

163. P.L.d.24.

የጌታ፡ ዝክራ፡ ልጅ፡ ወለተ፡ ሚካኤል፡ አሪሙን፡ ለክንፉ፡ ለብቻው፡ ልጃቸ፡ አይድረሱበት፡ ብላ፡ አሄ፡ ይሙቱ፡ ብላ፡ ሰጥታዋለች፡ በዘመነ፡ ሉቃስ፡ በአሄ፡ ተክለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ መንግሥት፡ በመልአከ፡ ሰላም፡ ዋሴ፡ ሹመት፡ በመምህር፡ አብርሃምና፡ በጌታ፡ ፀሐየ፡ ልዳ፡ ሹመት፡ በ፪፻፪ ደብተራ፡ ተፈጽማ።

164. P.L.d.25.

በዘመነ፡ ሉቃስ፡ ባሕ፡ ጌሉ፡ መንግሥት፡ በመልአከ፡ ገነት፡ ወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ አለቅነት፡ የጉልማን፡ አሪም፡ የበለሳን፡ የደንቢያን፡ ልጁቱ፡ ሰበን፡ በ፪ ድሪም፡ ወርቅ፡ ለግራ፡ ጌታ፡ ገብሩ፡ ሸጣለች፡ መድኑ፡ ልጅዋ፡ ኪዳነ፡ ማርያም፡ ይህነንም፡ አሪም፡ ለክርስትና፡ ልጃቸው፡ ለአንግዳ፡ ወርቅ፡ ሰጥተዋል፡ መሳክርቱ፡ ሊቀ፡ መዘምር፡ ላትብዬ፡ አለቃ፡ አፅቁ፡ አለቃ፡ ጊጋር፡ ቀኝ፡ ጌታ፡ መንክር፡ ናርጌ፡ ገብሩ፡ አለቃ፡ ወልደ፡ ገብርኤል፡ መጨኔው፡ ገብረ፡ ማርያም፡ አሙ፡ መምህራ፡ ኪዳነ፡ ማርያም፡ ገብረ፡ ኪዳን፡ ይዋ፡ ድንገል፡ በቀረው፡ ደብተሮቹ፡ ሁሉ፡ ያውቃሉ፡

165. P.L.d.26.

ባሕ፡ ጌሉ፡ መንግሥት፡ በዘመነ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ባለቃ፡ የሥላሴ፡ ባርያ፡ ሹመት፡ በሊቀ፡ መዘምራን፡ ኃብሉ፡ የጸፈ፡ አካሌን፡ ሪም፡ የቦችን፡ አኩሌታ፡ የጎርጎራንም፡ አኩሌታ፡ አባ፡ ወልደ፡ ሥላሴ፡ የገዙትን፡ ሺመቱ፡ ለረዳቸው፡ ለማሆዶ፡ ወለተ፡ ሥላሴ፡ የሠጡትን፡ ብዙ፡ ዘመን፡ ረድታኛለች፡ ብለው፡ ስማሆዶ፡ ወለተ፡ ሥላሴም፡ ላባ፡ ወሰን፡ ሳለች፡ በሕይወታ፡ አስከ፡ ሞት፡ ድረስ፡ አርደኝ፡ ስሞትም፡ ተዝካራን፡ አውፀልኝ፡ ብላ፡ ተፈጽማ፡ ሰጥታለች፡ በደብተሮቹ፡ ሁሉ፡ አባ፡ ወሰንም፡ ቃልዋን፡ ሳያፈርሱ፡ ፪ ዓመት፡ ረድተው፡ ፈቃድዋን፡ ሁሉ፡ ፈጽመው፡ አስፈትተው፡ ተዝካር፡ አውፀተው፡ ይዘውታል። ሰሞኑንም፡ ምሉውን፡ ሰሞን፡ ቁመውታል። ይህነን፡ ሁሉ፡ ደብተሮቹ፡ ሁሉ፡ ያውቃል።

166. P.L.d.27.

በዘመነ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ በአሄ፡ ጌሉ፡ መንግሥት፡ በአለቃ፡ ንዋዶ፡ አለቅነት፡ የብላታ፡ ለታ፡ ልጅ፡ ትርንጎ፡ ስትሞት፡ የጸፈጫን፡ የልደታን፡ የሩፋኤልን፡ የቂስቂምን፡ ያጣጣሚን፡ የሊኸን፡ ሁሉ፡ ሪም፡ ለሌዊ፡ ሳይሉ፡ ዳዊት፡ ድገምልኝ፡ ብላ፡ ሰጥታለች፡ መሳክርቱ፡ ደብተሮቹ፡ ናቸው፡

167. P.L.d.28.

ባሕ፡ ጌሉ፡ መንግሥት፡ በብላታ፡ ክንፈ፡ ደግነት፡ ወይዘሮ፡ ሕልሐክትና፡ ወይዘሮ፡ ዕሄቱ፡ ፲፪ ም፡ ፫ ቦታ፡ ላቡነ፡ ዮሳብ፡ ሰጥተው፡ የቀረውን፡ የጠብቁኝ፡ ብለዋል። ባሕ፡ ጌሉ፡ ፈቃድ፡ ያሄ፡

ቆሎው፡ለመድኃኔ፡ዓለም፡ነው፡መሪው፡እሸቱ፡ተመሪው፡ያቡን፡ሎሌ፡ጎዳና፡አዋጅ፡እስከ
 ናሪው፡አባ፡ፈንታ፡ጥብቅነቱ፡ወንጌሉ፡የሰበከውን፡መስቀሉ፡የባረከው፡ያጽናለዎ፡ብለው፡
 ሰጥተዋል።

168. P.L.d.29.

በዘመነ፡ማርቆስ፡በዓጼ፡ጊጋር፡መንግሥት፡በአለቃ፡ገብረ፡ሐይወት፡አለቅነት፡በመሪ፡ጌታ፡
 ወልደ፡ፋፋኤል፡መሪ፡ጌትነት፡በደብተራ፡ክንፈ፡ፋፋኤል፡እቃቤትነት፡በዜዋና፡በገብረ፡ማ
 ርያም፡መጪንነት፡በአባ፡ሃይሉና፡በገብሩ፡እምነት፡ያለቃ፡ኪዳኑን፡፩ ወቄት፡ወርቅ፡ቈንጅ
 ት፡ስላጠፋችዎ፡የደብተራ፡ሄላን፡እሪም፡እንደን፡ተፈጽማ፡ሰጥታለች፡ለዚህ፡መሳክር
 ቱ፡ደብተሮቹ፡ናቸው፡

169. P.L.d.30.

በዘመነ፡ማርቆስ፡በአፄ፡ጊጋር፡መንግሥት፡የአዛጃ፡አያሁን፡ልጅ፡ወይዘሮ፡ውቢት፡እሪሜን፡
 እኩሌታውን፡ለንሐ፡አባቴ፡ለአባ፡ወልደ፡ኪዳን፡እኩሌታውን፡ለልጅ፡ለኒሩት፡ሰጥቸለሁ፡
 ብለዋል፡መሳክርቱ፡ደብተሮቹ፡ናቸው። አለቃው፡መልአከ፡ብርሃናት፡ፈንታ፡ነዎ። መሳክር
 ቱ፡ደብተሮቹ፡

170. P.L.d.31.

በዘመነ፡ማርቆስ፡በአፄ፡ጊጋር፡መንግሥት፡በአለቃ፡ሠርፁ፡ሹመት፡በሊቀ፡መዘምራን፡ገ
 ብረ፡ኪዳን፡መሪጌትነት፡ወይዘሮ፡ወለተ፡እምላክ፡ለወይዘሮ፡ሣህሉ፡ሰጥተዋል፡የሪም፡እ
 ኩል፡የአባ፡ላዕኩን፡መሳክርቱ፡ደብተሮቹ።

171. P.L.d.32.

በዘመነ፡ሉቃስ፡በአፄ፡ጊጋር፡መንግሥት፡በአለቃ፡ወልደ፡እሴይ፡አለቅነት፡በአጋፋሪ፡ጽር
 ሐ፡አጋፋሪነት፡አባ፡በክሩ፡ያባርያን፡ያጎተዎን፡እሪም፡የወረሱበትን፡ለበጅሮንድ፡እንግዳ፡
 አውርስዋል። ጌንም፡ያባርያንም፡ተዝካር፡አውጥቼለሁ፡ለዚህም፡መሳክርቱ፡ደብ
 ቱ፡አጋፋሪው፡ሊቃውንቱ፡ናቸው፡ይኸም፡እንዳ፡ይፋቅ፡ተገዝተዋል፡

172. P.L.d.33.

በዘመነ፡ዮሐንስ፡ባፄ፡ጊጋር፡መንግሥት፡ባለቃ፡ኃይሉ፡በሊቀ፡መዘምራን፡ገብረ፡ሥላሴ፡
 ሹመት፡መምሐሬ፡ዕንቁ፡ስራ፡ሲሰሩ፡የደብሩ፡ቦታ፡ከናትክልቱ፡ለኒሩት፡ሰጥተዋል። የቆ
 ብላን፡የዋላጅን፡እሪም፡ላዛጃ፡ፈንታ፡ሰጥተዋል፡መሳክርቱ፡ደብተሮቹ፡ናቸው፡

173. P.L.d.34.

አልወድሕም፡ሠርጡ፡ለአፈ፡ንጉሥ፡ጉሹ፡መሪታቸው፡ከልጃቸው፡ከአብተው፡ጋራ፡ከሁለ
 ት፡አድርገው፡ደብሉ፡ብለው፡የጣቸውን፡ሰጥተዋል፡ሊአበሉ፡ሊአጠጡ፡ሊአለብሉ፡በአለ
 ቃ፡ፈንታ፡በሊቀ፡ካህናት፡ወልደ፡ገብርኤል፡በሙሉ፡ጌታ፡እሸቱ፡በሙሉ፡ጌታ፡ኪዳነ፡
 ማርያም፡በቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ካሳ፡በግራ፡ጌታ፡ንዋይ፡በዘርይሁን፡ወለተ፡ፋፋኤል፡በወይዘሮ፡አ
 ልጣሽ፡ጭቅነት፡መሳክርቱ፡ደብተሮቹ፡ሁሉ፡

174. P.L.d.35.

ደጅ፡አዝማች፡መርሶ፡ከእንዳብቷና፡ከገብረ፡ጽዮን፡በ፩ ብር፡የገዙትን፡ቦታ፡ለልጅ፡እና

ቶ፡ቸዎ፡ለወደዘር፡ዘይትና፡ለወደዘር፡ጀንበር፡ሰጥተዋል፡ሲገዙ፡መድኑ፡አለቃ፡ሥምረት፡
ነዎ፡በአለቃ፡ረንታ፡በቄስ፡አጼ፡ገብረ፡ማርያም፡ገብዝና፡በቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ካሳ፡በግራ፡ጌታ፡ገ
ብረ፡ማርያም፡በምሉ፡ጌታ፡ኪዳነ፡ማርያም፡በምሉ፡ጌታ፡እሸቱ፡በወደዘር፡እልጣሽ፡በዘ
ርይሁን፡ወለተ፡ፋፋሌል፡ጭቅነት፡በዎደ፡እንግዳ፡መልከኝነት፡መሳክርቱ፡ደብተሮቹ፡ሁሉ፡

175. P.L.d.36.

በዘመነ፡ማቴዎስ፡በአፄ፡ሣህሉ፡መንግሥት፡በመልእክ፡ብርሃናት፡ረንታ፡በሊቀ፡መዘምራ
ን፡ይስታ፡በርእሰ፡ደብር፡ገብረ፡ማርያም፡በቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ደርሶአይቸው፡በግራ፡ጌታ፡ፍሥሐ፡
በቤት፡ጠባቂ፡ጋሮንበር፡መጨኖች፡ጉዝር፡ኃይሉ፡ዕቃቤት፡ኃይሉ፡ጥራን፡ጠባቂ፡ተክሉ፡
እሞች፡ክንፋና፡አባ፡ወልደ፡ተክሌ፡ሣህሉ፡። የአባ፡ረባ፡ክሶስን፡ሪም፡ደብተሮቹ፡ለከንቲባ፡
አሣየኸኝ፡የሰጡትን፡ከንቲባ፡አሣየኸኝ፡ለመልእክ፡ብርሃናት፡ብርሃን፡ሰጥተዋል፡ደብተሮ
ቹም፡ሁሉ፡ረቅደዋል፡ዶህም፡እንዳደረርስ፡ተወግዞአል፡

176. P.L.d.37.

በዘመነ፡ማርቆስ፡ባፄ፡ሣህሉ፡መንግሥት፡ባለቃ፡ተክሉ፡አለቅነት፡ወደዘር፡ትሻል፡ስራ፡
ሲሰሩ፡የፀዳን፡እሪም፡ሲሰውን፡ዳዊት፡ዶድግምልኝ፡ብለው፡ለእንግዳ፡ሰጥተዋል፡፪ እጁ፡
ያለቃ፡ከብቴ፡ነው፡የ፬ እንስሳን፡ርስት፡ለክርስትና፡ልጅ፡ለሥላስ፡ሰጥቻለሁ፡የደንቢያውን፡
ርሰቴን፡ለማሆዶ፡ሣህሉ፡ለመልካሜ፡ለወርቄ፡ለወልደ፡ሌዊ፡ሰጠደ፡ልጅ፡ሰጥቻለሁ፡አለ
ቅነቱን፡ለወልደ፡ሌዊ፡በቀረው፡ከብት፡ምንምን፡የለኝም፡ከለበስሁት፡በቀር፡ቤቴንም፡ክ
ርክራውን፡ሳንቃውን፡ሺጠ፡ነው፡የገዛው፡የኔ፡አይደለም፡መሳክርቱ፡አውካቴዎስ፡ኃይሉ፡
መምህራ፡እስቤ፡ሊቀ፡መዘምራ፡ገብረ፡ማርያም፡ቤት፡ጠባቂ፡ጌታ፡ገብረ፡አረጋቂ፡ደብ
ተራ፡ከብቴ፡የንስሐ፡አባት፡መምህራ፡ስኑ፡

177. P.L.d.38.

በዘመነ፡ማርቆስ፡በዓፄ፡ሣህሉ፡መንግሥት፡በመልእክ፡ብርሃናት፡የሥላሴ፡ባርያ፡ሹመት፡
መምሐራ፡ልደ፡ዋህዶ፡የናታቸውን፡ያባታቸውን፡ጉልት፡ሁሉ፡ለአቤቶ፡ጸባሕት፡ሰጥተዋ
ል፡መሳክርቱ፡ደብተሮቹ፡ሁሉ፡ናቸው፡

178. P.L.d.39.

በዘመነ፡ሉቃስ፡በአፄ፡ሣህሉ፡መንግሥት፡በአለቃ፡ወልደ፡ማርያም፡አለቅነት፡በመሪ፡ጌታ፡
ፄዋ፡መሪጌትነት፡በደብተራ፡ገብረ፡ሥላሴ፡ዕቃቤትነት፡በኃይሉና፡በእንግዳ፡እምነት፡በወል
ደ፡ተክሌና፡በገብረ፡ኪዳን፡መጭንነት፡እሜቴ፡ወደዘር፡ወለተ፡ፍቅር፡የናተዎን፡የቴጌ፡እስ
ቴርን፡፪ ሪም፡ከለ፡ቦታው፡የልደታን፡ለአቶ፡ተድላ፡ሰጥተዋል፡መሳክርቱ፡ደብተሮቹ፡።

179. P.L.d.40.

በስመ፡እብ፡ወወልድ፡በዘመነ፡ማርቆስ፡በአፄ፡ቴዎድሮስ፡መንግሥት፡በአለቃ፡ይስታ፡አለ
ቅነት፡ወልታ፡ገብረ፡ኢየሱስ፡አገልግሎኝ፡አልና፡መጥ፡የትኑሮ፡ኅብቱ፡የሚያርሱቱን፡
፬ ምድር፡ለምትክ፡ልጅ፡ለብሩ፡ሰጥቸው፡አለሁ፡መሳክርቱ፡ሹማምቱ፡ደብተሮቹ፡።

180. P.L.d.41.

በዘመነ፡ ማርቆስ፡ በንጉሥ፡ ቴዎድሮስ፡ መንግሥት፡ በመልእክ፡ ብርሃኖት፡ ገብረ፡ በሊቀ፡ መ
ዘምራን፡ ደስታ፡ ሹመት፡ ፲ ምድር፡ ዋዋ፡ የገራ፡ ጌታ፡ ወልደ፡ ገብርኤልን፡ ፪ ምድር፡ ካውሴ፡
በትሩ፡ ልጅ፡ የገዙትን፡ ሱፋንቀራም፡ ከሊቀ፡ ጠበብት፡ ሪም፡ ከወይዘሮ፡ እትሁን፡ የገዙትን፡
፪ ምድር፡ ለልጃቸው፡ ለበለጠች፡ ሰጥተዋል። ሊቀ፡ መዘምራን፡ ገብረ፡ ከልጆች፡ የደረሰ፡ ል
ትረዳነው።

181. P.L.d.42.

ወይዘሮ፡ ትርጉ፡ ወይዘሮ፡ የወርቅውሃ፡ ሁለቱም፡ በጠፍ፡ ሰሞን፡ ቁሞልናል፡ ብለው፡ የቆብ
ላውን፡ ሪም፡ የደግ፡ እቡቄርን፡ ፲ን፡ ምድር፡ ከነበታው፡ ለሊቀ፡ መዘምራን፡ ደስታ፡ እትቹ፡
እይድረኩብለው፡ ሰጥተዋል፡ መሳክርቱ፡ ደብተሮቹ፡ ናቸው፡ ኃሄትም፡ እቱ፡ ዕየዋን፡ ሁሉ፡
ለለቃ፡ ደስታ፡ ሰጥታለች፡

182. Cr.L.1.

እስጉለትኩ፡ እነ፡ እስክንድር፡ በጸጋ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘተሰመዴኩ፡ ቈስጠንጢኖስ፡ ምድረ፡ መእሰነ፡
ለሐዜ፡ ዘርእ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ ደቂቅ፡ በመዋዕለ፡ ሉቃስ፡ ወንጌላዊ፡ እምእመ፡ ነገሥኩ፡ በ፯ ዓመት፡ ወእው
ራህ፡ ፯ በ፳፻ ወ፱፻ ወ፷ ዓመተ፡ ምሕረት፡ በቃለ፡ ሐዜ፡ እስራተ፡ ማርያም፡ ወሐይወተ፡ ድብ፡ እቃ
ምባ፡ ሐርብ፡ ጉሸ፡ ወቸብሐር፡ ዘርእ፡ ወእረ፡ እቃምባ፡ ደቡሌ፡ ወመልከኖት፡ ሴጥሮስ፡ ወብሻሌ፡
ወሊቀ፡ ካህናት፡ እምሃ፡ ለጽዮን። ዘሄደ፡ ወዘእንቀልቀለ፡ ውጉዘ፡ ዴኩን፡ በእረ፡ እብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወ
መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ በእረ፡ ማርያም፡ ወላደተ፡ እምላክ፡ በእረ፡ ነቢያት፡ ወሐዋርያት፡ በእረ፡ ጸድቃን፡
ወሰማዕት፡ ውጉዛነ፡ ወርጉማነ፡ ዴኩኑ፡ እስክ፡ ለዓለም፡ ዓለም፡ እሜን፡ ወእሜን። በእንተ፡ ሥጋ
ሁ፡ ወደሙ፡ ለክርስቶስ፡ ለዴኩን፡ ለዴኩን። ። ።

183. Cr.L.2.

በእኩቴተ፡ እብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ እስጉለትኩ፡ እነ፡ እስክንድር፡ በጸጋ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡
ዘተሰመዴኩ፡ ቈስጠንጢኖስ፡ ምድረ፡ እንበእሰል፡ ለሐዜ፡ በእደ፡ ማርያም፡ ውሉድ፡ በመዋዕለ፡ ሉቃ
ስ፡ ወንጌላዊ፡ ቃለ፡ ሐዜ፡ እስራተ፡ ማርያም፡ ወሐይወተ፡ ድብ፡ ወመኪንንት፡ ዘእምባ፡ ዘነበሩ፡ እቃ
ምባ፡ ሐርብ፡ ጉሸ፡ ወቸብሐርሂ፡ ዘርእ፡ ወእረ፡ እቃምባ፡ ደቡሌ። ወመልከኖት፡ ሴጥሮስ፡ ወብሻሌ፡
ወሊቀ፡ ካህናትሂ፡ እምሃ፡ ለጽዮን። ዘነሥእ፡ ውጉዘ፡ ለዴኩን፡ በእረ፡ እብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅ
ዱስ፡ በእፉሃ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ቅድስት፡ በእረ፡ ማርያም፡ ወላደተ፡ እምላክ፡ ውጉዛን፡ ወር
ጉማን፡ ዴኩኑ፡ እስክ፡ ለዓለም፡ ዓለም፡ እሜን፡ ወእሜን። ። ።

184. Cr.L.3.

እነ፡ እስክንድር፡ በጸጋ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘተሰመዴኩ፡ ቈስጠንጢኖስ፡ እንዘ፡ ሀለውኩ፡ በምድረ፡ መስ
ሐቆ፡ እመ፡ ፲ ወ፯ ለመጋቢት፡ በዕለተ፡ ሐሙስ፡ ወሀብኩ፡ ምድረ፡ ለተዝካርየ፡ ወለተዝካረ፡ እግዝእት
ነ፡ ምድረ፡ ካልእን፡ ወለእዴ፡ መዋዕል፡ ዘ፹ ወ፱ ዓመተ፡ ምሕረት፡ ወእንዘ፡ ሐዜ፡ እናት፡ እሌኒ፡
ወዘግራ፡ ባዕልቴሐት፡ መርዕድ፡ ሞገሳ፡ ወዘቀንዕ፡ ባዕልቴሐት፡ መርዕድ፡ ዜላ፡ ወበዓልተ፡ ሸሐና፡ መ
ርዕድ፡ ኃይላ፡ መክብብ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ተስፋ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ወዓቃቤ፡ ሰዓት፡ ተክለ፡ ሊየሱስ፡ ሞእ፡
ዘግራ፡ ብሕት፡ ወደድ፡ ሀብተ፡ ማርያም፡ ዘቀንእ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ምስሌየ፡ የጸረጅ፡ ማሰራ፡ ተክለዴ፡
ቄስ፡ ሐዜ፡ ደድሞስ፡ ወሊቀ፡ ደብተራ፡ ዘካርያስ፡ ዘደብረ፡ ነጉድጓድ፡ ሊቀ፡ ካህናት፡ ዮሴፍ። ዘእምሐ
ራ፡ ሊቀ፡ ካህናት፡ ገብረ፡ ማርያም። ቀለባስ፡ ሐስበላ። እራቁ፡ ማእሰራ፡ ዘግራ፡ ሴጥሮስ፡ ዘቀ

ንእ፡ ተስፋ፡ ሊኖሱስ። የእም ሐረ፡ ጸሐፈ፡ ላም፡ ስብሐት፡ ለእብ። የሸዋ፡ ጸሐፈ፡ ላም፡ ገብረ፡ እንድርያስ፡ ቃለ፡ ሐይ፡ የቀንእ፡ ጌታ፡ ገብረ፡ መስቀል። ዘእየሱስ፡ ደብተረ፡ ጌታ፡ እስራት፡ ዘመስቀል፡ ደብተረ፡ ጌታ፡ ናዞ። ዘበረከት፡ ቤት፡ በዝር፡ ወንድ፡ ዢን፡ ማስራ፡ ናዜ፡ የውስጥ፡ ሰው፡ ዜና፡ ሐዋርያት፡ ዢን፡ ሐይ፡ እስራት፡ ዢንጽራር፡ እድማስ፡ ኃይልየ፡ የዢንጽራር፡ ጌታ፡ ጌታ፡ በወሰን፡ ሳዲ፡ ሀብተ፡ ማርያም፡ ዘውስጥ፡ ዘእምባ፡ እቃምባ፡ ተከሥተ፡ ብርሃን። ወቸብር፡ ፍሡሕ፡ እምላክ፤ ወእፈ፡ እቃምባ፡ ሀብተ፡ ጽዮን፤ ወመልከኞቹ፡ ሴጥርስ፡ ወብሸሌ፡ ተዘካረ፡ ንጉሥ፡ በኃይለ፡ ሊኖሱስ፤ ነገሸ፡ ኩለእ፡ ሙሴ። የማል፡ እውፋሪ፡ እመተ፡ ብርሃን። ዘደብረ፡ ነጌድጌድ፡ ደብተረ፡ ዘርእ፡ ጽዮን። ዘገነተ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ደብተረ፡ ገብረ፡ መርዓዊ፡ ዘመንገሠ፡ ቤተ፡ ቤዝርወንድ፡ ዮሴፍ። የዛቂኖት፡ ጌታ፡ ባርክ። ሳዲ፡ እራ፡ ዘቀንእ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ዘገራ፡ ፍሬ፡ ሚካኤል። ዘገራ፡ ጌታ፡ ማሳበር። ዘቀንእ፡ ዘርእ፡ እብርሃም። በድብ፡ እንበሰ፡ በንስር፡ ቃና። በጌታ፡ በበዐለ፡ ሕግ። በዝንቱ፡ ለተዘካርነ፡ እስጌለትነ። ክፍለ፡ ማርያም፡ ወስነደ፡ ዝን፡ ጽራር፡

185. Cr.L.4.

በእኩቴተ፡ እብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወሀበት፡ ብርሃኑት፡ ዘገብረ፡ ሰማዕት፡ ወለት፡ ቤተ፡ እቡሃ፡ ምስለ፡ ምድረ፡ ቀዳሚኒ፡ ወሀበት፡ እማ፡ ነገድ፡ ወርቃ፡ ቤተ፡ ምስለ፡ ባደ፡ ለሐይ፡ ናእድ፡ በእቃምባ፡ የውሀ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ በቸብሕር፡ እቤል፡ ወእፈ፡ እቃምባ፡ ሳለ፡ እንበሳ፡ ወመልከኖቹ፡ ሠር፡ ወንጌል፡ ወፈንታይ፡ ወሊቀ፡ ካህናት፡ ደቅስዮስ፡ ዘንተ፡ ዘሄደ፡ ውጉዘ፡ ይኩን፡ በእፈ፡ እብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወበእፈ፡ ማርያም፡ እመ፡ ሊኖሱስ፡ ለዓለም፡ እሜን። ። ። ወዓዲ፡ ወሀባ፡ ውሉደ፡ ገብረ፡ ሰማዕት፡ ቁጽለ፡ ገነት፡ ወጸበለ፡ ማርያም፡ ቤተ፡ ምስለ፡ ባደ፡ ለሐይ፡ ናእድ፡ ዞተ እገለ፡ ውጉዘ፡ ይኩን፡ በእፈ፡ ነቢያት፡ ወሐዋርያት፡ ለዓለም፡ እሜን። ። ።

186. Cr.L.5.

በእኩቴተ፡ እብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ እነ፡ ልብነ፡ ድንግል፡ ለሀገረ፡ ደልእንታ፡ ፶፪ ሹም፡ ዮም፡ ለርእሰነ፡ ወድሳረ፡ ለውሉድነ፡ ብሂለነ፡ ጉለትነ፡ ወኅልቄ፡ ግብራሂ፡ በግሞት፡ ፪፪ ወዳመጥ፡ ፪፪ መዓር፡ በጉራዲ፡ ሸሕ፡ በግዕ፡ ለእንቅጣጥሂት፡ ወላሕምሂ፡ ፹፬ ቀራ፡ ምስለ፡ ፲ ወ፪ ዪው፡ ለለወርት፡ ለመለወጫ። ፶፪ በቀሎ፡ ለመንገስ፡ ወቅድመሂ፡ ዘነበረ፡ ፍልቄ፡ ግብራ፡ ሸሕ፡ መዓር፡ ሸሕ፡ ስፍር፡ በቀሎ፡ ፶፪ ወላሕም፡ ፹ ወድሳረሰ፡ እዘዙ፡ ቃለ፡ ሐይ፡ በፍቸሕ፡ እንቁጦስ። በእምባ፡ ጌታ፡ ስብሐት፡ ሥር፡ ነገረክመ፡ ወሠር፡ ግብርመ፡ በግሞት፡ ዝጉልት፡ ተሠርዓ፡ በወርሳ፡ መጋቢት፡ በእቃምባ፡ ሠር፡ በቸብሕር፡ ተክለ፡ ነቢያት፡ ወእፈ፡ እቃምባ፡ ሣህለ፡ ወንጌል፡ ወመልከኖ፡ ሄዞ፡ ወብስራት፡ ወ፪ ቁላፎቹ፡ እርከ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ስብሐት፡ እብርሃም፡ ወበእለ፡ ሳርብሂ፡ ዘርእ፡ ማርያም፡ ወሊቀ፡ ከብቱ፡ ዘቁላ፡ ዘእገዚእብሕር፡ እብ፡ ሊቀ፡ ካህናት፡ ደቅስዮስ፡ ወመምህረ፡ እስራኤል፡ ሲኖዳ፡ ለቸብሕር፡ በእለ፡ ሐርብ፡ ሲብሴ፡ ወላዓቃምባ፡ በዓለ፡ ሐርብ፡ ሠር፡ ዝግብር፡ ተሠር፡ በ፪ ሐይ፡ ቤት፡ ፩ ወእስማቲሆመ፡ ጽጌ፡ መስቀል፡ ዳፍንታ፡ ዘርእ፡ ማርያም፡ ሐርዮ፡ እራማሰራቸ፡ ወእምሳሉ፡ ኩሉ፡ ሸማቹ፡ ለደልእንታ፡ በብሉየ፡ መዋዕል፡ ሊደሐሩ፡ ሳበ፡ ፍቸሕ፡ ይኩኑ፡ ለውሉደ፡ ልብነ፡ ድንግል፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወእውጉዘ፡ እቡነ፡ ማርቆስ፡ ወተጽሕፈ፡ በሊየራሳሌም፡ ወበእገዚእብሕር፡ እብ፡ ዘሄደ፡ ወዘተእገለ፡ ዘንተ፡ ጉልተ፡ እመሂ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወእመሂ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ወእመሂ፡ መኩንን፡ ወእመሂ፡ እስራኤል፡ ወእሕዛብ፡ ውጉዘ፡ ለይኩኑ፡ በእፈ፡ እብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወበእፈ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ በእፈ፡ ፲ ወ፪ ሐዋርያት፡ ወበእፈ፡ ፲ ወ፪ ነቢያት፡ ወ፪፪ እርድእት፡ በእፈ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ወግብርኤል፡ በእፈ፡ ፯ ሊቃነ፡ መላእክት፡ በእፈ፡ ፳፬ ካህናተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወበ፪ እንስሳ፡ በእፈ፡ ጸድቃን፡ ወሰማዕት፡ ውጉዘ፡ ወርጉዘ፡ ወቅኑየ፡ ወጥፋእ፡ ለይኩን፡ ለይኩን፡ ከመ፡ ሄሞን፡ መሠርደ፡ ወከመ፡ ይሁዳ፡ ቀታሌ፡ እግዚእ፡ እሜን፡ ወእሜን፤ ከመ፡ ይኩን፡ ጉልት፡ በዓቃቤ፡ ሰዓት፡ ወእሌ፡ ማርያም፡ ወሊቀ፡ ሊቃውንት፡

ኩሞ፡በሊቀ፡ማእምራን፡መክረልቶ፡በቄስ፡ሐዜ፡ሮሴ፡በበትረ፡ያርክ፡ዘድንግል፡በሊቀ፡ደብ
ተራ፡ጽጌ፤ተክለ፡አብ፡ወእባ፡በሥምረት፡በቤት፡ጠባቂ፡እንግደ፡በጸረጽ፡ማሰራ፡ዳህበ፡ማር
ያም፡በሊቀ፡ጳጳሳት፡እባ፡ገብርኤል፡ወበጳጳሳነ፡እባ፡ጴጥሮስ፡ወበቃለ፡ሐዜ፡መክረልቶ፡ወጋፒ
ንጽራር፡ጌታ፡ኮከብ፡በዓቃምባ፡እስዓኔ፡ወሶብሕር፡ሐደራ፡ወእረ፡እቃምባ፡ኮከብ፡ወመልከኛ፡
ተክሌ፡ወዕዝራ፡በሊቀ፡ካህናት፡ፋሲለጸስ፡ወመምህር፡እባ፡ዕዝራ፡ወሊቀ፡ካህናት፡ዘቄላ፡ዪ
ዋ፡እራቅ፡ማሰራ፡ተክሌ፡ጋፒን፡ገበር፡በትረ፡ሥላሤ፡ባባ፡ዘልጉት፡መጉት፡ሸምብሪት፡እ
ዛባ፡ጸረቂ፡ብቂዶት፡ወገል፡ቀለባስ፡እምግራ፡ባሕልትያት፡ነሢእነ፡እጉለትነ፡ከመ፡ይኩን፡ለሕዓ
ናት፡ለዓለመ፡ዓለም፡ወለትውልደ፡ትውልድ፡እመሂ፡ንጉሥ፡እው፡መኰንን፡ዘንተ፡ዘተዓገለ፡
ወዘሄደ፡ውጉዘ፡ለይኩን፡በእረ፡አብ፡ወወልድ፡ወመንረስ፡ቅደስ፡ወበእረ፡እግዝእትነ፡ማ
ርያም፡በእረ፡፲ወፎ ሐዋርያት፡በእረ፡፲ወፎነቢያት፡ወፎወፎ አርድእት፡በእረ፡ሚካኤል፡ወገ
ብርኤል፡በእረ፡ሱራፊል፡ወኪራቤል፡በእረ፡፯ሊቃነ፡መላእክት፡በእረ፡፳ወ፬ ካህናት፡ወበ፬
እንስሳ፡ወበእረ፡ጸድቃን፡ወሰማዕት፡በእረ፡ጸናግል፡ወመነኮሳት፡ውጉዘ፡ወቅኑየ፡ከመ፡ሴ
ሞን፡መሠርዶ፡ለዓለመ፡ዓለም፡እሜን፤ወከመ፡ይሁዳ፡ረሲእ፡እሜን። ። ዘወንጌል፡ደብዳቤ፡

187. Cr.L.6.

በእኩቴተ፡አብ፡ወወልድ፡ወመንረስ፡ቅደስ፡ወሀብነ፡ንሕነ፡ሚናስ፡በጸጋ፡እግዚእብሔር፡ዘተ
ሠመዶነ፤ወከመ፡መንግሥትነ፡እድማስ፡ሰገድ፡ለሕዓናት፡ምድረ፡ደልእንታ፡ወከመ። ።

188. Cr.L.7.

በእኩቴተ፡አብ፡ወወልድ፡ወመንረስ፡ቅደስ፡ነሢእነ፡ንሕነ፡ሠርፀ፡ድንግል፡ወከመ፡መንግሥትነ፡
መለክ፡ሰገድ፡ምድረ፡እምወደዘር፡ጽጌ፡ሮማን፡ዘይትበሐል፡ሞኖ፤ለበት፤ለበት፤ድብል፤ወሐ
ት፤ሐልቃ፤ደልባ፤ደገንሳ፤ሚላዋ፤ዘበተላ፤ድልግና።፪ እጅ፡እምተላ፡እምስባ፡ወእምባፊት።
ጸምቦ፤እንቂት፤በእግባቡ፤፪ እጅ፡እምሐለሳና፤ዘንተ፡ተሎ፡ነሢእነ፤በለውጥ፤ወእምነ፡ፍቸሐ፡
ወሀብነ፡ምድረ፡ዘይትበሐል፡እስካራ፤ግራ፡ወገላ፤እምቀኝ፡ወገላ፤ዘየእክል፡ሲናኒ፡እምድረ፡ጉ
ዢም፡ለምጫንኒ፡ወእምእለ፡ተኖለቀ፡ምድር፡ለደልባ፡ወለደገንሳ፤፪ እጅ፡እምተላ፡ወሀብነ፡
መብልዓ፡እስከ፡ይመውቱ፡ዘንተ፡ተሎ፡ምድረ፡ዘነሢእነ፡በሢጥነ። ዘሄደ፡ወዘተእገለ፡ውጉዘ፡ለይ
ኩን፡በእረ፡አብ፡ወወልድ፡ወመንረስ፡ቅደስ፡ወበእረ፡ጴጥሮስ፡ወጳውሎስ፡ይኩን፡ውጉዘ፡ወ
ሕቱመ፡ለዓለመ፡ዓለም፡እሜን። ።

189. Cr.L.8.

በዘመነ፡ማርቆስ፡በእጼ፡ጌሉ፡መንግሥት፡በእለቃ፡ወልደ፡እኬ፡እለቅነት፡በእገፋሪ፡ጽርሐ፡እገፋ
ርነት፡ግራጌታ፡ሂሩ፡፪ ም፡ለይቱየ፡ሸጠዋል፡በወቄት፡ወርቅ፡መድኑ፡ጽርሐ፡ጆዋና።

190. Cr.L.9.

ከቢተውልኝ፡ቦታ፡ገዝተዋል፡እሜየቴ፡ወደዘር፡መነን፡በ፲ ብር፡መድኑ፡መድኑ፡በትሩ፡እንግዳ፡
ከግራ፡ጌታ፡ፍሬም፡በ፳፮ ብር፡ቦታ፡ገዝተዋል፡መድኒቱ፡ኃይሉ፡ምርጢት፡በ፲፪ ብር፡እስረት
ተዋል፡ተስካር፡እውጥተዋል፡በእለቃ፡ወልደ፡ማርያም፡በሊቀ፡ካህናት፡ኪዳነ፡ቃል፡በቀኝ፡ጌታ፡
ፍሬ፡በግራ፡ጌታ፡ውቤ፡በሙሉ፡ጌታ፡ትኩ፡በሙሉ፡ጌታ፡ገብረ፡ማርያም፡በተክሉ፡ወልደ፡ሩ
ፋኤል፡በዘርእ፡ይሁን፡ጭቅነት፡በሊህ፡ሹመት፡መሳክርቱ፡ደብተራው

191. Cr.L.10.

በዘመነ፡ማርቆስ፡በመልእክ፡ፀሐይ፡ኃይሉ፡በሊቀ፡ጠበብት፡እፈ፡ወርቅ፡ሹመት፡ይቴጊ፡ምንት
ዋብ፡ላለቃ፡ጳጳሜዎን፡የስጡትን፡እቤቶ፡እበኔር፡ላይ፡ኖሐንስ፡ሰጥተዋል፡፬ን፡ጋሻ፡የቀላክቋ
ምን፡መሳክርቱ፡ሹማምቱ፡ደብረ፡ያውቃሉ፡

192. Cr.L.11.

እናቴ፡ወለተ፡ሴም፡የማቀፊውን፡የምለኸ፡ቈይኝንም፡ርስታቸውን፡ለይቴጊ፡መነን፡ሰጥተ
ዋል፡መድኑ፡ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ረምታ፡በአለቃ፡ፈንታ፡በቄስ፡እይ፡ገብረ፡ማርያም፡በቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ካሳ፡
በግራ፡ጌታ፡ገብረ፡ማርያም፡በምሉ፡ጌታ፡ኪዳነ፡ማርያም፡በምሉ፡ጌታ፡እሸቱ፡በዘርደሁን፡ወ
ለተ፡ፈፋኤል፡በወይዘሮ፡አልጣሽ፡ፎቅነት፡በተክሉ፡ወልደ፡ፈፋኤል፡በፀዎደ፡እንግዳ፡መል
ከኝነት፡መሳክርቱ፡ደብተሮቹ

193. Cr.L.12.

ባይ፡ሣህሉ፡መንግሥት፡ከተርእተ፡ርእሱ፡ምድር፡፬ምድር፡ወይዘሮ፡ምትክ፡ሺጠዋል፡ላይ፡
ሣህሉ፡መድኑ፡ሊቄ፡አድቄ፡፫ምድር፡የጠፍ፡ለልጆትዋ፡እይ፡ሣህሉ፡ሰጥተዋል። :: ::

194. Cr.L.13.

በዘመነ፡ማቴዎስ፡ባይ፡ሣህሉ፡መንግሥት፡በመልእክ፡ገነት፡ገብረ፡ማርያም፡በሊቀ፡መ
ዘምር፡ገብረ፡ኪዳነ፡ሹመት፡የዋልዋጅን፡ገንትነት፡የገንደዋን፡የፋጪናን፡የጪንጮቅን፡የ
ዳዋን፡የምድረ፡ባራን፡የደራን፡በዚህ፡ሁሉ፡ገንትነት፡ጥንትም፡ገንዘብዎ፡ነው፡ብለው፡
ወይዘዝሩ፡ሁሉ፡መክረው፡ደብረ፡ብርሃን፡ደቀድሱበት፡ብለው፡ተፈጥመው፡ተገዝተው፡
ለእቴጌ፡መነን፡ለልጅ፡ልጅዋ፡ደለፍ፡ብለው፡ሰጥተዋል፡ፎቅነት፡ለወይዘዝር፡ደሁን፡ቀ
ኂ፡እዝማቺ፡ቀመስ፡እሞራ፡ጠባቂ፡ደጥፋ፡ብለዋል፡የገንትነቱም፡ቅዳሴ፡ጫን፡ስንዴ፡
፲፱፡ጨው፡ነው፡ዴሕ፡ሁሉ፡እንደ፡እደረርስ፡እይ፡ወድቶ፡አቡን፡እጪጌ፡ወድቶ፡ው፡ሊቃው
ንቱ፡እዛጋቸ፡ቁመው፡አዋጅ፡ተነግሮ፡ተገዝተዋል፡እድባራቱም፡ሁሉ፡ገዝተዋል።

195. Cr.L.14.

በዘመነ፡ማርቆስ፡በዓይ፡ሣህሉ፡መንግሥት፡በመልእክ፡ብርሃናት፡ብርሃን፡ሹመት፡በሊቀ፡መ
ዘምራን፡ምስጋድ፡ሹመት፡በወይና፡የትግሮች፡፳፫ምድር፡የስላሙ፡፱ምድር፡ደብተሮቹ፡ሁ
ሉ፡ፈቅደው፡የእቴጌ፡መነን፡ሰጥተዋል። ሰሞኑ፡ሁለት፡ጫን፡ነው፡ዴህ፡እንደደረርስ፡በአቡ
ን፡በእጪጌ፡ተገዝተዋል።

196. Cr.L.15.

በዘመነ፡ኖሐንስ፡በእይ፡ሣህሉ፡መንግሥት፡በአለቃ፡ወልደ፡ማርያም፡አለቅነት፡በመሪ፡ጌታ፡
ዴዋ፡መሪጌትነት፡በኪዳነ፡ተክሉና፡በአባ፡ኃይሉ፡እምነት፡በገብረ፡ሥላሴ፡እቃቤትነት፡በሳቄ
ኤል፡ኃይሉና፡በከብቴ፡ወልደ፡ተክሌ፡መጪኔነት፡የባላምባራስ፡ወልደ፡ሥላሴን፡እሪም፡ከለቦ
ታው፡የልደታን፡ልጆችዎ፡ጋሪና፡ተመርጣ፡በ፱ብር፡ለእቴጌ፡መነን፡ሸጡ፡መድኒቱ፡እቱ፡ተመ
ርጣ፡ናት፡መሳክርቱ፡የቀኝ፡የግራው፡ደብተሮች፡ናቸው፡

197. L.S.a.1.

ባዴ፡ኢያሱ፡መንግሥት፡በመልእክ፡ብርሃኖት፡ወልደ፡ሐዋርያት፡አለቅነት፡በሊቀ፡መዘምራን፡ጎርጎርዮስ፡ሹምች፡ርእሰ፡ደብር፡መንክሮ፡ቴዎድሮስ፡ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡እርከ፡ረዳስ፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡እቢሳ፡ቤት፡ጠባቂ፡አለቆች፡ንዋየ፡ሚካኤል፡ወልደ፡ገብርኤል፡እሞች፡ሰይፉ፡እንቀጽ፡ምህርከ፡ድሆ፡ወልደ፡ኢየሱስ፡መጪኖች፡ናቡቴ፡ወልደ፡ድንግል፡እቃ፡ቤቱ፡የግዜር፡ከብት፡እዴ፡ትክለ፡ሃይማኖት፡የደብረ፡ብርሃን፡ሪምዎን፡ለልጅዎ፡ለቤት፡ለናውድ፡የሰጡትን፡ናውድም፡ለናቱ፡ለመቤት፡ሰብሌ፡የሰጠውን፡የመቤት፡ሰብሌ፡ልጅ፡ወደዘሮ፡ወለተ፡እቢብ፡በ፲ ወቄት፡ለወደዘሮ፡ወለተ፡ኪዳን፡ሸጡ፡መድኑ፡እቤት፡ተላፈናስ፡ዴህን። ደብተሮችም፡ሁሉ፡ያውቃሉ፡

198. L.S.a.2.

በመንግሥተ፡ንጉሥነ፡አድያም፡ሰገድ፡ኢያሱ፡የፈንጠር፡ምድር፡ርስት፡የሚያገናኙትን፡የበጅሮንድ፡ተኮን፡ምድር፡ያቦራን፡የደዋሮን፡የርስታቸውን፡ምድር፡ለዜሕ፡ሻጮች፡ቸር፡እግዜርና፡ገብራል፡በ፬፡ወቄት፡ካ ድሪም፡መድኑም፡እርሳቸው፡በተረካቢ፡ገዢዎችም፡እምኃና፡ራሔል፡መሳክርቱ፡መጋቢ፡እርከ፡ሥሉስ፡ጸባቲ፡ወልደ፡ዮሐንስ፡ሊቄ፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖት፡በሹሮንድ፡ብየ፡ጌርጊስ፡በጅሮንድ፡ኤራቅሊስ።

199. L.S.a.3.

በዘመነ፡ማቴዎስ፡ባዴ፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖት፡መንግሥት፡በመልእክ፡ብርሃኖት፡ዜና፡በ፪ተኛው፡ሹመታቸው፡በሊቀ፡መዘምራን፡ወልደ፡ድንግል፡በርእሰ፡ደብር፡ወልደ፡ሚካኤል፡በቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ወልደ፡ገብርኤል፡በግራ፡ጌታ፡ደንጎላ፡በቤት፡ጠባቂ፡ጌታ፡አሥራት፡ወምህርካ፡መጪኖች፡ወልደ፡ፋፋኤል፡ዘፈራ፡እሞች፡ጌታ፡ጋሹ፡መሳውር፡ቄስ፡ወልደ፡ሚካኤል፡እባ፡ወልደ፡ኢየሱስ፡ጥራን፡ጠባቂ፡ናቡቴ፡ከሸምላ፡ወደዘሮ፡ወቢት፡ገዝተውት፡የነብሩትን፡በ፮ ወቄት፡እናተዎ፡ወደዘሮ፡ማርያማቂት፡ለሻለቃ፡ተስካሮ፡ለልጅዎ፡ገዙ፡የሪም፡እኩሌታ፡ያባቶን፡ደብተሮች፡ሁሉ፡ያውቃሉ፡

200. L.S.a.4.

የስዕል፡ቤት፡ሪምዎን፡በ፫ ወቄት፡ካላድ፡ከሰበን፡የገዙትን፡ከእባ፡ኪዳኑ፡በ፬ ወቄት፡የገዙትን፡ቤት፡አለቃ፡ፈንሐስ፡በ፯ ወቄት፡ካላድ፡ለሚስትዎ፡ለወለተ፡ሚካኤል፡ሸጡ። መሳክርቱ፡ስዕል፡ቤቶች፡እቡነ፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖቶች፡ሐመረ፡ኖኖች።

201. L.S.a.5.

በዘመነ፡ማርቆስ፡በእዩ፡ተክለ፡ጊዮርጊስ፡በነገሡ፡በ፫ ዓመት፡ያመልማል፡እሪም፡ያመረ፡ኖኅን፡ብላታበትረ፡የገዙትን፡ለሌቄ፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖት፡ልጅ፡ለሌቄ፡ገብራ፡በ፯ ወቄት፡ከ፯ ድሪም፡ሸጠዋል፡መድኑ፡ያባ፡ስኖ፡ልጅ፡ዋሴ፡ነው፡በመልእክ፡ሰላም፡ያቦ፡ባርያ፡ሹመት፡መሳክርቱ፡መምህራ፡እብርሃም፡እባ፡ፀሐየ፡ልዳ፡ደብተሮች፡ሁሉ፡

202. L.S.a.6.

በዘመነ፡ማቴዎስ፡በእዩ፡ተክለ፡ጊዮርጊስ፡መንግሥት፡በላቃ፡ሰላሙ፡አለቅነት፡ከሻለቃ፡ዘፈጣሪ፡እዛዢ፡ገላውዴዎስ፡የገዙትን፡እሪም፡ለርእሰደብር፡ኪዳነ፡ማርያም፡እኩሌታውን፡ሸጠዋል፡ወልደ፡ማርያም፡መድኑ፡ደረሰ፡ወንድ፡መሣክርቱ፡ደብተሮች፡

203. L.S.a.7.

በዘመነ፡ ማቴዎስ፡ በምልእክ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ዕንግዳ፡ በሊቀ፡ ጠቦብት፡ ኃይሉ፡ ሹመት፡ ወይዘሮ፡ ወለተ፡ ፅዮን፡ ቋስቋም፡ የቀደሱበትን፡ ከረዋን፡ ጉልተዎን፡ ባጅ ወቄት፡ ወርቅ፡ ባክሉ፡ እልጣሽ፡ እጺ፡ ይሙቱ፡ ብለው፡ ሸጠዋል። መሳክርቱ፡ ቀኝ፡ ጌታ፡ ፍቅሩ፡ ግራ፡ ጌታ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ርእሰ፡ ደብር፡ ክንፉ፡ ቤት፡ ጠባቂ፡ ጌቶች፡ ወልደ፡ ሚካኤልና፡ እቤሴሎም፡ እቃ፡ ቤቱ፡ መምህራ፡ ወልደ፡ ኪርሰ፡ በቀረውም፡ ደብተሮች፡ ሁሉ፡ ያውቃሉ። ። ።

204. L.S.a.8.

በዘመነ፡ ማቴዎስ፡ ባዪ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ መንግሥት፡ ባለቃ፡ ያቦ፡ ባርያ፡ ሹመት፡ በሊቀ፡ መዘምራን፡ ክንፉ፡ በርእሰ፡ ደብር፡ ጌሌ፡ በቀኝ፡ ጌታ፡ መርዓዊ፡ በግራ፡ ጌታ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ቤት፡ ጠባቂ፡ ጌቶች፡ የሥላሴ፡ ባርያ፡ ርእሰ፡ ደብር፡ ኪዳኑ፡ ጥራን፡ ጠባቂ፡ እባ፡ ዕንቁ፡ መጪኖች፡ ወርቁ፡ ጉብረ፡ ኪዳን። የዕጣን፡ ነጋዴዎን፡ ምሉውን፡ ሪም፡ የዳብሎውን፡ ሐጂ፡ መደላሚን፡ በጊ ወቄት፤ ለረርሰሊሳ፡ ጎሹ፡ ሸጠ። መድኑ፡ ፋሲል፡ ሄላ፡ ነው። መሳክርቱ፡ ደብተሮች፡ ሁሉ፡ ናቸው። የተረጸጸሙቱ፡ ከሊቁ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ከሌቁ፡ ወልደ፡ ድንግል፡ ነው፡ የቀረቱም፡ ሊቃውንት፡ ያውቃሉ፡

205. L.S.a.9.

በዘመነ፡ ሉቃስ፡ ባዪ፡ ተክለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ መንግሥት፡ ባለቃ፡ የሥላሴ፡ ባርያ፡ ሹመት፡ በሊቀ፡ መዘምራን፡ ጌሌ፡ የጣን፡ ነጋዴ፡ ራም፡ ዳብሎን፡ እኩሌታውን፡ እብራሂም፡ ለጌርሣም፡ በጊ ወቄት፡ ሸጠ፡ እኩሌታውም፡ ከጢብ፡ ለሐልቀት፡ በጊ ወቄት፡ ሸጠ፡ መድኑ፡ ለከጢብ፡ እብራሂም፡ ለእብራሂም፡ ካጢብ።

206. L.S.a.10.

በዘመነ፡ ሉቃስ፡ በእዪ፡ ተክለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ መንግሥት፡ በመልእክ፡ ብርሃኖት፡ ሂራት፡ ሹመት፡ ፯ ወቄት፡ ከ፯ ድሪም፡ ለሰበን፡ ፯ ወቄት፡ ከድሪም፡ ለማሚት፡ የናታቸውን፡ ሪም፡ ያሳታቸውን፡ ርስት፡ ለሻለቃ፡ ካሳደ፡ ሸጠዋል፡ ምንም፡ ቢሺጡ፡ እስኪ፡ ሞቱ፡ ይበሉታል፡ በእቡን፡ ቃል፡ ግዝት፡ ነው፡ ይህ፡ እንዳይረርስ።

207. L.S.a.11.

በዘመነ፡ ማቴዎስ፡ ባዪ፡ እጌለ፡ ድዮን፡ መንግሥት፡ ባለቃ፡ እብርሃም፡ ሹመት፡ የዕውር፡ እደራን፡ እሪም፡ ከራሔል፡ ሲደ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ የገዛውን፡ ልጅቱ፡ እኒ፡ ትርንጎ፡ ምሉውን፡ በጊ ወቄት፡ ከጊ ድሪም፡ ላባ፡ ረንታ፡ ሸጠች፡ መድኑ፡ መሪ፡ ጌታ፡ እሳቡ፡ ናቸው፡ መሳክርቱም፡ ቀኝ፡ ጌታ፡ ምሕረቱ፡ ግራ፡ ጌታ፡ ተክሉ፡ ቤት፡ ጠባቂ፡ ጌቶች፡ ጌታ፡ ሌዊና፡ እባ፡ ክንፉ፡ እሞች፡ እባ፡ ወልደ፡ ስምዖንና፡ ፀዳሉ፡ መጪኔ፡ ጥበቡ፡ ዕቃ፡ ቤቱ፡ እባ፡ ክንፉ፡ በቀረውም፡ ደብተሮች፡ ያውቃሉ። ሊቃውንቱም፡ ሊቁ፡ ሂራት፡ ሊቁ፡ ወልደ፡ ድንግል፡ እዛጋ፡ ፀምራ፡ እቃቤ፡ ሰዓት፡ ጉብሩ፡ ናቸው፡

208. L.S.a.12.

በዘመነ፡ ማርቆስ፡ ባዪ፡ እጌለ፡ ድዮን፡ መንግሥት፡ ባለቃ፡ ወልደ፡ ጉብርኤል፡ ሹመት፡ የቡድ፡ ዘወልድን፡ እሪም፡ እዛጋ፡ ትኩ፡ የገዙትን፡ ወዘሮ፡ ውቢት፡ የገዙትን፡ ልጅቱ፡ ወይዘሮ፡ ትርንጎ፡ ምሉውን፡ ሪም፡ በጊ ወቄት፡ የመሪዉን ላለቃ፡ እብርሃም፡ ሸጠለች፡ መድኑ፡ መሪ፡ ጌታ፡ እሳቡ፡ ጠለፋው፡ ሊቁ፡ ሂራት፡ ናቸው፡ መሳክርቱም፡ ቀኝ፡ ጌታ፡ ምሕረቱ፡ ግራ፡ ጌታ፡ ተክሉ፡ ቤት፡ ጠባቂ፡ ጌቶች፡ ጌታ፡ ሌዊና፡ እባ፡ ክንፉ፡ እሞች፡ እባ፡ ላእኩ፡ ፀዳሉ፡ መጪኔ፡ ጥበቡ፡ በቀረው፡ ደብተሮች፡ ናቸው፡

209. L.S.a.13.

በዘመነ፡ዮሐንስ፡ባሄ፡ጌሉ፡መንግሥት፡ባለቃ፡ወልደ፡ገብርኤል፡አለቅነት፡በሌዋ፡ኃይሉ፡መረጌትነት፡የደግ፡አቡቂር፡የቤት፡ጠባቂዉን፡ወይዘሮ፡ውቢት፡ካዛ፡ትኩ፡የገዙቱን፡ከወይዘሮ፡ትርጉን፡አለቃ፡አብርሐም፡በ፪ ወቄት፡ተድሪም፡ገዙ፡መድኑ፡ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ምሕረቱ፡ጠለፋ፡ለቄ፡ሂሩት፡መሳክርቱ፡ደብተሮቹ።

210. L.S.a.14.

በዘመነ፡ሉቃስ፡ባሄ፡ጌጋር፡መንግሥት፡ባለቃ፡ዋካ፡አለቅነት፡በመሪ፡ጌታ፡ዴዋ፡ፋፋኤል፡መረጌትነት፡የጌታ፡ፍሥሐ፡ን፡ዕሪም፡ልቄ፡ወልደ፡ድንግል፡ለውሺን፡የሰጠትን፡፪ቱ፡ምድ፡ብላታ፡አይቺህ፡በ፪ ብር፡ገዙ፡ጳጵቱ፡ወይዘሮ፡ውሺን፡መድኑ፡መሪ፡ጌታ፡ዴዋ፡ፋፋኤል፡መሳክርቱ፡ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ጥበቡ፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡እንግዳ፡ቤት፡ጠባቂ፡ጌቶቹ፡ማሕጸንቱና፡ወልደ፡ተክሌ፡በቀረውም፡ደብተሮቹ፡ያውቃሉ።

211. L.S.a.15.

በዘመነ፡ዮሐንስ፡ባለቃ፡ኪዳኑ፡ቄሳድነት፡ባሄ፡ጌጋር፡መንግሥት፡አለቃ፡ወልደ፡አብ፡በወቄት፡ከ፩ ድሪም፡ዓቀመት፡የገዙትን፡ካኪላስ፡ከብቱ፡በዚያው፡መልሰው፡ባኪስ፡ከብቱ፡ሸጠዋል፡መሳክርቱ፡ደብተሮቹ፡ናቼው። አለቃ፡ዜናም፡ካኪላስ፡ባምስት፡ወቄት፡ካላድ፡የገዙትን፡በወቄት፡ባኪላስ፡ካብቱ፡መልሰው፡ሸጡ፡መሳክርቱም፡ደብተሮቹ፡ናቼው።

212. L.S.a.16.

እመዴቲ፡ወይዘሮ፡ሠናዴት፡ከደጅ፡አዝማች፡ኃይሉ፡ልጆች፡ከወይዘሮ፡ምርጢት፡በ፪ ወቄት፡ከአቶ፡ጎሹ፡በአላድ፡ገዝተዋል፡በ፪ ወቄት፡ሟ በወርድ። ፹ በቁመት፡በአላድ፡፳ በወርድ፡ሟ በቁመት። ለ፪ መድን፡አለቃ፡ገብሩ፡ነቃ፡ወይዘሮ፡ምርጢት፡ልጆቹን፡ሁሉ፡ሊከቱ፡ተረጽማዋል፡በአለቃ፡ዜና፡አለቅነት፡በሊቀ፡ካህናት፡ወልደ፡እምላክ፡በቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ገብረ፡መድሃንን፡በግራ፡ጌታ፡ገብረ፡ሕይወት፡በምሉ፡ጌታ፡ሥምረት፡በምሉ፡ጌታ፡ወልደ፡ገብርኤል፡በአቶ፡አድቄና፡በአቶ፡ዘርዴሁን፡ጨቅነት፡በምሉ፡ጌታ፡ወልደ፡ሚካኤል፡መልከኝነት፡መሳክርቱ፡ደብተሮች። እቶ፡ጎሹም፡ደረሰኝ፡ብለዋል።

213. L.S.a.17.

ወይዘሮ፡የተመኙ፡ከእሳተ፡ጊዮርጊስና፡ከአባ፡ወልደ፡ዕሄዴ፡ቦታ፡ገዝተዋል፡በ፪ ብር፡መድኑ፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡ገብረ፡ሕይወት፡በአለቃ፡ዜና፡በሊቀ፡ካህናት፡ቢበላ፡በቀኝዴጌታ፡ገብረ፡መድሃንን፡በምሉ፡ጌታ፡ሥምረት፡በምሉ፡ጌታ፡ወልደ፡ገብርኤል፡በአቤቶ፡አድቄ፡በአቤቶ፡ዘርዴሁን፡መሳክርቱ፡ደብተሮች።

214. L.S.a.18.

በዘመነ፡ማርቆስ፡ባሄ፡ዮሐንስ፡መንግሥት፡ባለቃ፡ተክሉ፡አለቅነት፡ናርጌ፡ገብሩ፡ከሣህሉ፡የገዙትን፡የቅብራዬሉን፡እሪም፡ልጅቃ፡ሊቀ፡መዘምር፡ገብረ፡ኪዳን፡በ፪ ብር፡ከ፯ ጩው፡ሸጠዋል፡ለጎንበል፡ፀዳሉ፡መድኑ፡አለቃ፡ገብረ፡ማርያም፡መሳክርቱ፡መልአክ፡ገነት፡ወልደ፡ጌጋር፡ሊቀ፡መዘምር፡ኃይሉ፡ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ድጌ፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡እንግዳ፡ወርቅ፡ቤት፡ጠባቂ፡ጌታ፡ገብረ፡አረጋዊ፡መጪኤው፡ገብረ፡ጊዮርጊስ፡ዕቃ፡ቤቱ፡መምህራ፡አስቤ፡በቀረው፡ደብተሮች፡ሁሉ፡ያውቃሉ።

215. L.S.a.19.

ከኃይሉ፡ምርጢት፡ወሰን፡ገብረ፡ተክሌ፡የገዙትን፡ቦታ፡አርፋስ፡ግድ፡ሣህሉ፡መጥተው፡ቢ
 ይዙ፡ዋቢ፡አልአልፍልኸም፡ቢልዋቸው፡ከአርፋስግድ፡ሣህሉ፡ዳግመኛ፡በጁ ብር፡ተኩል፡ወሰ
 ን፡ገብረ፡ተክሌ፡ገዝተዋል፡መድኑ፡ወልታ፡ንዋይ፡በአለቃ፡ፈንታ፡በቄስ፡አጼ፡ገብረ፡ማርያም
 ፡በቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ካሳ፡በግራ፡ጌታ፡ገብረ፡ማርያም፡በምሉ፡ጌታ፡ኪዳነ፡ማርያም፡በምሉ፡
 ጌታ፡እሸቱ፡በዘርዶሁን፡ወለተ፡ፋፋሌል፡በወይዘሮ፡አልጣሽ፡ፎቅነት፡በዎይ፡እንግዳ፡መል
 ከኝነት፡መሳክርቱ፡ደብተሮቹ፡ሁሉ፡

216. L.S.a.20.

ወይዘሮ፡ቀጠሮ፡ከወሰን፡ገብረ፡ተክሌ፡የገዙትን፡ቦታ፡ለደጅ፡እዝማቸ፡ጣሕር፡በጁ ወቄት፡ሽ
 ጠዋል፡መድኑ፡ሊቀ፡ካህናት፡ወልደ፡ገብርኤል፡በአለቃ፡ፈንታ፡በቄስ፡አጼ፡ገብረ፡ማርያም፡
 ግብዝና፡በቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ካሳ፡በግራ፡ጌታ፡ገብረ፡ማርያም፡በምሉ፡ጌታ፡ኪዳነ፡ማርያም፡በም
 ሉ፡ጌታ፡እሸቱ፡በዘርዶሁን፡ወለተ፡ፋፋሌል፡በወይዘሮ፡አልጣሽ፡ፎቅነት፡በዎይ፡እንግዳ፡መ
 ልከኝነት፡መሣክርቱ፡ደብተሮቹ፡ሁሉ፡

217. L.S.a.21.

ከደብተራ፡ወልደ፡ፊጉሌል፡ልጅ፡ከተክሌ፡ጁጂ ወርደ፡ጁ ክንድ፡ከስንዝር፡ቋሙ፡እጣዋን፡
 በጁ ብር፡ከጁ ጩው፡አቶ፡ቢወጣ፡ገዝተዋል፡መድኑ፡ወለተ፡ሐይወት፡ገብረ፡ማርያም፡በ
 አለቃ፡ፈንታ፡በቄስ፡አጼ፡ገብረ፡ማርያም፡ግብዝና፡በቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ካሳ፡በግራ፡ጌታ፡ገብ
 ረ፡ማርያም፡በምሉ፡ጌታ፡እሸቱ፡በምሉ፡ጌታ፡ኪዳነ፡ማርያም፡በወይዘሮ፡አልጣሽ፡በዘ
 ርዶሁን፡ወለተ፡ፋፋሌል፡ፎቅነት፡በዎይ፡እንግዳ፡መልከኝነት፡መሳክርቱ፡ደብተሮቹ፡

218. L.S.a.22.

ካሳየ፡ተክሉ፡ከዓድጎ፡ገብሩ፡የገብዙትን፡ቦታ፡ለባላባራስ፡ወዳጅ፡በጁ ብር፡ሽጠዋል፡መድ
 ኑ፡አድገህ፡ነዋይ፡በአለቃ፡ፈንታ፡በቄስ፡አጼ፡ገብረ፡ማርያም፡ግብዝና፡በቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ካሳ፡
 በግራ፡ጌታ፡ገብረ፡ማርያም፡በምሉ፡ጌታ፡እሸቱ፡በዘርዶሁን፡ወለተ፡ፋፋሌል፡በወይዘሮ፡
 አልጣሽ፡ፎቅነት፡በዎይ፡እንግዳ፡መልከኝነት፡መሳክርቱ፡ደብተሮቹ፡ሁሉ፡

219. L.S.a.23.

አጋፋሪ፡ወልደ፡ጊዮርጊስ፡ከዋሐይ፡ሣህሉ፡የገዙትን፡ቦታ፡ደጅ፡እዝማቸ፡ሥዩም፡በጁ ወቄ
 ት፡ከጁ ብር፡ገዝተዋል፡መድኑ፡ሊቀ፡ካህናት፡ወልደ፡ገብርኤል፡በአለቃ፡ፈንታ፡በቄስ፡አጼ፡ገ
 ብረ፡ማርያም፡በቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ካሳ፡በግራ፡ጌታ፡ገብረ፡ማርያም፡በምሉ፡ጌታ፡እሸቱ፡በምሉ፡
 ጌታ፡ኪዳነ፡ማርያም፡በወይዘሮ፡አልጣሽና፡በዘርዶሁን፡ወለተ፡ፋፋሌል፡ፎቅነት፡በተክሉ፡
 ወልደ፡ፋፋሌል፡በዎይ፡እንግዳ፡መልከኝነት፡መሣክርቱ፡ደብተሮቹ፡ሁሉ፡

220. L.S.a.24.

ጸዳል፡ወልደ፡ኪዳን፡ከአሳፍ፡ጸዳል፡በጁ ማድጋ፡እህል፡እጠና፡በርን፡ገዝቷል፡መድኑ፡ደብተራ፡
 ወልደ፡ኤፋ፡በአለቃ፡ፈንታ፡በቄስ፡አጼ፡ገብረ፡ማርያም፡በቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ካሳ፡በግራ፡ጌታ፡ገብረ፡
 ማርያም፡በምሉ፡ጌታ፡እሸቱ፡በምሉ፡ጌታ፡ኪዳነ፡ማርያም፡በወይዘሮ፡አልጣሽ፡በዘርዶሁን፡
 ወለተ፡ፋፋሌል፡ፎቅነት፡በተክሉ፡ወልደ፡ፋፋሌል፡በዎይ፡እንግዳ፡መልከኝነት፡መሳክርቱ፡ደ
 ብተሮቹ፡ሁሉ፡

221. L.S.a.25.

በዘመነ፡ ማቴዎስ፡ በእፄ፡ ሣህሉ፡ መንግሥት፡ በአለቃ፡ አድቄ፡ አለቅነት፡ በመሪ፡ ጌታ፡ ዴዋ፡ መሪጌትነት፡ በቀኝ፡ ጌታ፡ ጥበቡ፡ ቀኝጌትነት፡ በግራጌታ፡ እንግዳ፡ ግራጌትነት፡ ቤት፡ ጠባቂ፡ ጌትኾ፡ ኃይሉና፡ ወልደ፡ ሥላሴ፡ እሞኾ፡ መምሐራ፡ ሰርፀና፡ ወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ መጨኔው፡ ያለው፡ አዳቀር፡ ሊቄ፡ ገብሩ፡ ካቶ፡ አክሊሉ፡ ልጅ፡ በ፪ ወቄት፡ የገዙትን፡ ጸዳሉ፡ አልጣሹ፡ በ፲፪ ብር፡ ያጠፎውን፡ ለብላታ፡ አድገህ፡ ለሌጌጫ፡ ለትኩ፡ ለድንቄ፡ የመገጠን፡ እንደን፡ ፍትግ፡ እንደን፡ ልጁዋ፡ ገብሩ፡ አሊህ፡ ገዝተዋል፡ መድኑ፡ ክንፉ፡ እንግዳ፡ መሳክርቱ፡ ደብተሮቱ፡ ሊቄ፡ ሂረት፡

222. L.S.a.26.

በዘመነ፡ ማቴዎስ፡ በእፄ፡ ሣህሉ፡ መንግሥት፡ በመልእክ፡ ብርሃናት፡ ፈንታ፡ ቦሊቀ፡ መዘምራን፡ ደስታ፡ በቀኝ፡ ጌታ፡ ደርሶአዬቸው፡ በግራጌ፡ ጌታ፡ ፍሥሐ፡ ሱመት፡ ከስባገንቱ፡ ክንፉ፡ ልጅ፡ ከውሂብ፡ ፪ ምድር፡ ፩ ቦታ፡ በ፱ ብር፡ በግራጌታ፡ ወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ መድኑት፡ የገዛውን፡ ወዳጁ፡ ሣህሌ፡ በ፱ ብር፡ ለግራጌታ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ሸጠአል፡ መድኑ፡ ቤት፡ ጠባቂ፡ ጌታ፡ ጀንበር፡ መሳክርቱ፡ ደብተሮቱ፡ ናቸው፡

223. L.S.a.27.

በዘመነ፡ ማርቆስ፡ በእፄ፡ ሣህሉ፡ መንግሥት፡ በአለቃ፡ ውቤ፡ ርእሰ፡ ደብር፡ ገብረ፡ ማርያም፡ በሊቀ፡ መዘምራን፡ ደስታ፡ በቀኝ፡ ጌታ፡ ደርሶ፡ አዬቸው፡ በግራጌታ፡ ፍሥሐ፡ በጠባቂኾ፡ ጀንበር፡ ማጠንቱ፡ አለቃ፡ ኪዳኑ፡ ከአባ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ ዋዋ፡ ፪ ምድር፡ ፪ ቦታ፡ የገዙትን፡ ልጅቱ፡ ወለተ፡ ተክሌ፡ በ፱ ብር፡ ለግራጌታ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ሸጠኾ፡ መድኑ፡ ተክሌ፡ ገብረ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ መሳክርቱ፡ ደብተሮቹ፡ ናቸው፡

224. L.S.a.28.

በዘመነ፡ ማርቆስ፡ በእፄ፡ ሣህሉ፡ መንግሥት፡ በአለቃ፡ ወልደ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ አለቅነት፡ እፄ፡ ሣህሉ፡ ለገጭ፡ ሣህሉ፡ የሰጡትን፡ የዙርዓተ፡ ርእሱን፡ አሪም፡ ልጅኖው፡ አለቃ፡ ወርቄ፡ በ፲ ብር፡ ሸጠዋል፡ ለደብተራ፡ ድምፁ፡ ፪ ምድር፡ ተቦታ፡ ነው፡ ሀገሩም፡ ሠረቀርን፡ ነው፡ መሳክርቱም፡ ሊቃውንቱ፡ ናቸው፡

225. L.S.a.29.

በዘመነ፡ ሉቃስ፡ ሠረቀ፡ መስከረም፡ በእፄ፡ ሣህሉ፡ መንግሥት፡ በአለቃ፡ ካሳ፡ ሹመት፡ በሊቀ፡ መዘምራን፡ ምስጋድ፡ ሹመት፡ ግራጌታ፡ አርኩ፡ ከአቶ፡ ካሌብ፡ የገዙትን፡ አፂት፡ ምድር፡ ቆብሳ፡ ወይዘሮ፡ አቦ፡ ገረድ፡ ለውብ፡ ዕንግዳ፡ ሺጠዋል፡ በ፲ት፡ ብር፡ መድኑ፡ መምራ፡ ገብረ፡ ሥላሴ፡ መሳክርቱ፡ ደብተሮቹ፡

226. L.S.a.30.

በዘመነ፡ ሉቃስ፡ ባፄ፡ ሣህሉ፡ መንግሥት፡ በመልእክ፡ ብርሃናት፡ ካሳ፡ በሊቀ፡ መዘምራን፡ ምስጋድ፡ ሹመት፡ ካሌቶ፡ ጌርሳም፡ የገዙትን፡ የማሆዶ፡ ወለተ፡ ልዑል፡ ሪም፡ ፪ ምድር፡ ከቦታ፡ ተኩል፡ ወይዘሮ፡ ትርፌ፡ ለፀባቲ፡ ገብሩ፡ በ፲ ብር፡ ሸጡ፡ መድኑ፡ አለቃ፡ ወልደ፡ ተክሌ፡ መሳክርቱ፡ ደብተሮቹ፡ ናቸው፡

227. L.S.a.31.

በዘመነ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ በእፄ፡ ሣህሉ፡ መንግሥት፡ በአለቃ፡ ፈንታ፡ በሊቀ፡ መዘምራን፡ ደስታ፡ ሹመት፡

የቆብላውን፡ የሪም፡ እኩል፡ ከነቦታው፡ ንዋይ፡ ከኢሮስ፡ ባርያ፡ ልጅ፡ ከአልጣሽ፡ የገዛውን፡ በ፪ ብር፡ ለአዛዢ፡ ገብረ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ሽጦአል፡ መድኑ፡ ጸባቴ፡ ገብረ፡ መሳክርቱ፡ ደብተሮቹ፡ ናቸው።

228. L.S.a.32.

በዘመነ፡ ማቴዎስ፡ ባዩ፡ ቴዎድሮስ፡ መንግሥት፡ በመምህር፡ ወልደ፡ ትንሣኤ፡ ቄሳድነት፡ ባመርጌታ፡ ረንታ፡ ሹመት፡ በቀኝ፡ ጌታ፡ እስረካኾኝ፡ ባለቃ፡ ገረማርያም፡ በግራ፡ ጌታ፡ አቅቡ፡ ባሕንግ፡ ገብረ፡ ሥላሴ፡ በሀይሉ፡ ውቤ፡ በነዚህ፡ ሹመት፡ እቃቤ፡ ሰለት፡ ከብቴ፡ የገዙትን፡ ከወልደ፡ እቢብ፡ ልጆች፡ ምርቁላን፡ በወቄት፡ ፪ት፡ ድሪም፡ አለቃ፡ ፀዳሉ፡ ለቄስ፡ አድጎ፡ ዐይቸው፡ ና፡ ለድማሃ፡ እቴጌ፡ ሺጠዋል፡ መድኑ፡ እዴሞት፡ ሁኖ፡ ዋሴ። ምስክሮቹ፡ ደብተሮች፡

229. L.S.a.33.

በዘመነ፡ ማቴዎስ፡ በአዩ፡ ቴዎድሮስ፡ መንግሥት፡ በአለቃ፡ ደስታ፡ አለቅነት፡ በቀኚ፡ ጌታ፡ ፀዳሉ፡ መሪጌትነት፡ ከሻለቃ፡ ዘፈጣሪ፡ ፪ ምድር፡ ወቀራ፡ ኮ፡ ወደዘሮ፡ ደስታ፡ የገዙትን፡ የደስታ፡ ኪዳነ፡ ማርያም፡ ልጆች፡ ውብ፡ ሸትና፡ ትርጉን፡ ለአባ፡ ቢሰውርና፡ ለካቱ፡ በ፬ ብር፡ ሽጠዋል፡ የመሪጌታ፡ ጸባትን፡ ፩ ምድር፡ ለአባ፡ ቢሰውር፡ ለምጥን፡ ለውቢት፡ ለብታግ፡ ለብር፡ ውሐ፡ በ፪ ብር፡ ሽጠዋል፡ ከቱ፡ ጋራ፡ አብሮ፡ ሸጡ፡ ከሪሙ፡ የተረፈውን፡ ምድር፡ ይዞ፡ መድኑ፡ ውብ፡ እሼት፡ መሳክርቱ፡ ደብተሮች።

230. L.S.a.34.

በዘመነ፡ ማርቆስ፡ ባለ፪፡ ቴዎድሮስ፡ መንግስት፡ ባባ፡ ወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ ዕቃቤትነት፡ ካለቃ፡ ማህፀንቱ፡ ልድ፡ ከወደዘሮ፡ ሀሴት፡ ጠሉሽ፡ ኪዳነማርያም፡ የገዙትን፡ ቦታ፡ መርጌታ፡ ገብረ፡ ማርያም፡ ለመርጌታ፡ አጽቁ፡ ባ፪ ብር፡ ሸጡ፡ መድኑ፡ ሳቂሌል፡ ሀይሉ፡ መሳክርቱ፡ ደብተሮች፡

231. L.S.a.35.

በዘመነ፡ ሉቃስ፡ በንጉሥ፡ ቴዎድሮስ፡ ዘመን፡ ባለቃ፡ ውቤ፡ በሊቀ፡ መዘምራን፡ ደስታ፡ ሹመት፡ የሊቀ፡ መዘምራን፡ ክንፉን፡ ሪም፡ ፪ ምድር፡ ፪ ቦታ፡ ጎርጎራ፡ ፲ ምድር፡ ፬ ቦታ፡ ቦች፡ ሊቄ፡ የሁሉ፡ ጌታ፡ ለምርካብ፡ ወልደ፡ ኪዳን፡ የሰጡትን ፻ የምርካብ፡ ወልደ፡ ኪዳን፡ ልጅ፡ እናትዋ፡ ለግራ፡ ጌታ፡ ፍሥሐ፡ በ፬ ብር፡ ሸጡ፡ መድኑ፡ የሁሉ፡ ጌታ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ነው፡ መሳክርቱ፡ ሹማምቱ፡ ርእሰ፡ ደብር፡ ገብረ፡ ማርያም፡ ቀኝ፡ ጌታ፡ ትኩ፡ ግራ፡ ጌታ፡ ፍሥሐ፡ ቤት፡ ጠባቂ፡ ጌቶች፡ ጀንበር፡ ማህፀንቱ፡ እሞች፡ ክንፉ፡ ሣህሉ፡ አባ፡ ወልደ፡ ተክሌ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ጥራን፡ ጠባቂ፡ አልዬ፡ መጪኖት፡ ወልደ፡ ኪዳን፡ አልዬ፡ እሊህ፡ ናቸው።

232. L.S.a.36.

በዘመነ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ በንጉሥ፡ ቴዎድሮስ፡ መንግሥት፡ በአለቃ፡ ውቤ፡ በሊቀ፡ መዘምራን፡ ደስታ፡ ሹመት፡ የተሎሙ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ሪም፡ የቦቹን፡ ባይሌ፡ ገብሩ፡ ገዝተው፡ ለወልደ፡ ስምዖን፡ ተክሌ፡ የሰጡትን፡ ልጅቱ፡ ተክሌ፡ ጊሩት፡ ለአባ፡ ቢሰውር፡ በ፪ ብር፡ ሽጠዋል፡ መድኑ፡ ዓንባዬ፡ ሣህሉ፡ መሳክርቱ፡ ደብተሮቹ፡ ናቸው፡ ምድሩም፡ ፲፪ ቦታውም፡ ፬ ነው፡

233. L.S.b.1.

፩ም፡፩ ቦታ፡በቋንጋ፡፩ ም፡፩ ቦ፡በቅብራዬል፡ካዛ፡ዘውዴ፡በወቄት፡ካላድ፡ወርቅ፡ለሰን
ደቅና፡ለባላም በራስ፡መማለጃ፡አለቃ፡መጽሔትና፡ደብተሮች፡ሁሉ፡እጼ፡ይመቱ፡ብለው፡
ሸጠዋል፡ከዘንቅም፡እንዳይገባ፡ተፈጽመዋል፡

234. L.S.b.2.

በዘመነ፡ዮሐንስ፡ባሄ፡ድሜ፡ጥርስ፡መንግሥት፡ባቤት፡ተክለ፡ሥላሴ፡አለቅነት፡አለቃ፡ለንጠ
ሌቃን፡ለራፋኤል፡የሰጡትን፡፪ ምድር፡አሮ፡ወልደ፡ሚካኤልም፡፪ ምድር፡የገዙትን፡ደብተሮ
ችና፡አሮ፡ወልደ፡ሚካኤል፡በሶስት፡ወቄት፡ሼጡ፡ባጅባጅ፡አድጎ፡ገዙ፡ለራፋኤል፡መድን፡መ
ሪጌታ፡አሳቡ፡፡ ላሮ፡ወልደ፡ሚካኤል፡መድን፡መሪጌታ፡ደንጎላ፡ለዚህ፡መሳክርቱ፡ሹማምቱ፡
ደብተሮች፡ናቸው፡

235. L.S.b.3.

በዘመነ፡ሉቃስ፡ባሄ፡ጌሉ፡መንግሥት፡ባለቃ፡ወልደ፡ገብርኤል፡አለቅነት፡የወዳጇን፡ያጠፎን፡
ምድር፡የፍንጥሮ፡ማርያምቺ፡የፍታት፡የሰጠውን፡ደብተራ፡ስላትኖን፡ገዛ፡ባ፬ ድሪም፡ሳጮ
ቹ፡ከህናቱ፡መድኑ፡ቀንጌታ፡ምሕረቱ፡መሳክርቱ፡ደብተሮች፡

236. L.S.b.4.

በዘመነ፡ዮሐንስ፡ባሄ፡ጌሉ፡መንግሥት፡ባለቃ፡ወልደ፡ገብርኤል፡አለቅነት፡በ፴ሌዊ፡ኃይሉ፡
መሪጌትነት፡ጌታ፡ቂርቆስ፡ለቅደስ፡ራፋኤል፡የሰጡትን፡ምድር፡ጊሳን፡ሹማምቱ፡ለቤተ፡ክር
ስቲያኑ፡ክዳን፡ባላድ፡ወርቅ፡ለቀኝ፡ጌታ፡አድቁ፡ሸጠዋል፡መድኒቱ፡ወይዘሮ፡ምህርካ፡ናቹ
ው፡መሳክርቱ፡ደብተሮች፡ናቸው፡፡ ፡፡

237. L.S.b.5.

በዘመነ፡ዮሐንስ፡ባሄ፡ጌሉ፡መንግሥት፡ባለቃ፡ወልደ፡ገብርኤል፡አለቅነት፡ጌታ፡ሌዊ፡፡ የሰ
ጡትን፡ምድር፡ጊሳን፡ሹማምቱም፡ደብተሮችም፡ለክዳን፡ብለው፡ባላድ፡ሼጡ፡ክንፌ፡፡
ዛው፡መድኑ፡መሪጌታ፡ኃይሉ፡ለዚህም፡መሳክርቱ፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡ጥበቡ፡ቀኝጌታ፡አድቁ፡ቤጠ
ባቂ፡ጌቶች፡ጸዳሉ፡ሰላም፡ኃይሉ፡እሞቹ፡መምራ፡ላዕኩ፡ግራጌታ፡ሰርጹ፡በቀረውም፡ደብ
ተሮች፡

238. L.S.b.6.

በዘመነ፡ማቴዎስ፡በአለቃ፡ኤስሮም፡በቀ፡ጠበብት፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖት፡ሹመት፡የወዘሮ፡
ሐውልተ፡ስምን፡ፈንታቸውን፡ብር፡ለፍታት፡ሰጥተው፡ደብሩ፡ሸጠዋል፡እጼ፡ይመቱ፡ብ
ለው፡ለውብዳር፡ኃይሉ፡መሳክርቱ፡ሹማምቱ፡ናቸው፡

239. L.S.b.7.

በዘመነ፡ማርቆስ፡በመልአክ፡ፀሐይ፡ሣህሉ፡በሌቀ፡ጠበብት፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖት፡ሹመት፡
፫ ጋዛ፡ላፍትአት፡የሰጡትን፡ደብሩ፡በ፪ ወቄት፡ለገብረ፡ኪዳን፡ሸጠዋል፡ርእሳ፡ደብር፡ክን
ፋ፡ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ወል፡ወልደ፡ሚካኤል፡ደብሩ፡ያውቃሉ፡

240. L.S.b.8.

በዘመነ፡ማርቆስ፡በእጼ፡ጊጋር፡መንግሥት፡በአለቃ፡መኮንን፡፡ አለቅነት፡በመርጌታ፡ዪዋ፡

መርገትነት፡ እባ፡ ወሰን፡ ላለቃ፡ ገብረ፡ ኖሐንስ፡ የሰጡትን፡ ፩ ምድር፡ ለፍታት፡ ሰጥተዋል፡ እለቃ፡ ገብረ፡ ኖሐንስ፡ ካህናቱም፡ ለተዋሂ፡ ገብሩና፡ ለልሔት፡ በ፫ ብር፡ ሸጠዋል፡ መድኑ፡ ዕቃቤት፡ ወልደ፡ ሥላሴ፡ መሳክቱ፡ ደብተሮቹ። ።

241. L.S.b.9.

በዘመነ፡ ማርቆስ፡ በዓፄ፡ ጊጋር፡ መንግሥት፡ በአለቃ፡ መኰነን፡ አለቅነት። በመሪ፡ ጌታ፡ ዴዋ፡ ሩፋኤል፡ መሪገትነት፡ በጥበቡ፡ ቀኝ፡ ጌትነት፡ በእንግዳ፡ ግራጌትነት፡ በወልደ፡ ሥላሴና፡ በማሳፀንቱ፡ ቤት፡ ጠባቂ፡ ጌትነት፡ አለቃ፡ ገብረኖሐንስ፡ ከአለቃ፡ አብርሃም፡ የወረሱትን፡ ፩ ምድር፡ የፍታት፡ ተቀብለው፡ ደብተሮቹ፡ ፩ ምድር፡ በ፩ ብር፡ ለመምሕራ፡ ፈንታ፡ ሸጠዋል፡ መድኑ፡ መሪገታ፡ ዴዋ፡ ሩፋኤል፡ መሳክቱ፡ ሌቄ፡ ሂሩት፡ ሹማምቱ፡ ደብተሮቹ።

242. L.S.b.10.

በዘመነ፡ ማርቆስ፡ በዓፄ፡ ጊጋር፡ መንግሥት፡ በአለቃ፡ መኰነን፡ አለቅነት፡ በመሪገታ፡ ዴዋ፡ መርገትነት፡ አለቃ፡ አብርሃም፡ ለአለቃ፡ ገብረ፡ ኖሐንስ፡ የሰጡትን፡ ፩ ምድር፡ ፩ ምድር፡ ደብተሮቹ፡ ለፍታት፡ በ፫ ብር፡ ለኃይሉ፡ መከራ፡ ሺጠዋል፡ መድኑ፡ መሪ፡ ጌታ፡ ዴዋ፡ መሳክቱ፡ ደብተሮቹ፡

243. L.S.b.11.

በዘመነ፡ ሉቃስ፡ በዓፄ፡ ጊጋር፡ መንግሥት፡ በመሪ፡ ጌታ፡ ገብረ፡ ኪዳን፡ መሪገትነት፡ በዘድንግል፡ እቃቤትነት፡ በቄስ፡ ገብሩና፡ በክንፈ፡ ሩፋኤል፡ እምነት፡ በዴዋና፡ በገብረ፡ ማርያም፡ መጪንነት፡ ካባ፡ ኤልያስ፡ የገዙትን፡ የጃርጃሩን፡ ፩ ምድር፡ ተቅራና፡ መሪ፡ ጌታ፡ ወልደ፡ ሩፋኤል። መሪገታ፡ ወልደ፡ ሩፋኤልም፡ ሲሞቱ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያኒቱና፡ ለረዳቸው፡ የሰጡትን፡ ደብተሮቹና፡ እረዳቱ፡ ላለቃ፡ ገብረ፡ ሕይወት፡ በ፩ ብር፡ ሸጠዋል፡ መድኑ፡ እባ፡ ነቅዓ፡ መሳክቱ፡ አቦሮች፡ ልደቶች፡ አለቃ፡ እስጠፋኖስ፡ መምራ፡ ዴዋ፡ ናቸው፡

244. L.S.b.12.

በዘመነ፡ ኖሐንስ፡ በዓፄ፡ ገብረ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ መንግሥት፡ በአለቃ፡ ወልደ፡ ሚካኤል፡ አለቅነት፡ ዋልድቦች፡ ከማሆዶ፡ ወለተ፡ ዋሳድ፡ የተመደወቱትን፡ እሪም፡ ለአንጫ፡ ክንፈየ፡ ልጆች፡ ሸጠዋል፡ በ፫ ብር፡ ከ፲ ጩው፡ ፩ ምድር፡ የኃይሉ፡ ፩ ም፡ የወልደ፡ ተክሌ፡ ፩ ም፡ የአቦ፡ ሰጡኝ፡ መድኑ፡ እባ፡ ወልደ፡ ኪዳን፡ የልፍኝ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ መሳክቱ፡ ሊቃውንቱ፡ የቀኝ፡ የግራው፡ ዘሰረቅ፡ ወዘረሐቅ፡ ውጉዝ፡ ለዶኩን፡ በስልጣነ፡ ሴጥሮስ፡ ወጸውሉስ።

245. L.S.b.13.

በመልእኮ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ወልደ፡ ሩፋኤል፡ ሹመት፡ በሊቀ፡ ጠበብት፡ ገብረ፡ ኪዳን፡ ሹመት፡ ወይዘሮ፡ ስሂን፡ ለደብሪቱ፡ የሰጡትን፡ ቦታ፡ ደብተሮች፡ በ፩ ብር፡ ሸጠዋል፡ ለተዋበች፡ መድኑ፡ አድጎ፡ እይቸው።

246. L.S.b.14.

ያባተልግድ፡ ሪም፡ ፩ት፡ ብር፡ ላለቃ፡ ወሮነጎደ፡ ደብተሮቹ፡ ሁሉ፡ ሸጠዋል፡ መድኑ፡ ሊቄ፡ ወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ ብሩን፡ ቤተክርስቲያን፡ ተሰርቶበታል፡

247. L.S.b.15.

ከማፍዴ፡ ቅድስቱ፡ እንግዳ፡ የገዛውን፡ ቦታ፡ ደብተሮች፡ ስለ፡ ፍታት፡ ተቀብለው፡ በ፩ ብር፡ ለሊቀ፡ መዘምራን፡ ምሥጋድ፡ ሺጠዋል። መድኑ፡ ሣህሉ፡ ገብረ፡ ኪዳን፡

248. L.S.b.16.

በዘመነ፡ ማቴዎስ፡ ባሕሪ፡ ቴዎድሮስ፡ መንግሥት፡ በመምህራ፡ ገብረ፡ መድሃኒ፡ አለቅነት፡ በቄስ፡ ትርፌ፡ ገብዝና፡ በሀብቱ፡ ሊቀ፡ ደቄና፡ ወልደ፡ መድኃኔ፡ ዓለም፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ የሰጡትን፡ ደብተሮች፡ ባጃ ብር፡ ለእንግዳ፡ ሸጠዋል፡ መድኃኔ፡ ቄስ፡ ትርፌ፡ መሳክርቱ፡ ቅሬ፡ ከደብተሩ፡

249. L.D.1.

እኔ፡ ፋሲል፡ የሰጡት፡ ለፊት፡ እቦ፡ ትግራ፡ ሀገሩ፡ እድ፡ ግደ፡ ለመስዋእት፡ ፪ ወቄት፡ ባለ፡ ጉልቱ፡ ሀጅ፡ ስደ፡ ኻላም፡ በተከራከሩ፡ ጊዜ፡ እኔ፡ አያሁ፡ ለነጋድሬስ፡ ሐብ፡ ያሕ፡ ፋሲሉ፡ ይጽናለት፡ ብለዋል፡ እቡንም፡ እጪን፡ ገዝተዋል፡ ፅንደ፡ እድረርስ፡

250. L.D.2.

ያባ፡ ሠርፀ፡ ማርያም፡ ሐዋርያት፡ የቄስ፡ ከደያቆን፡ ምድር፡ የማሞን፡ ከሰና፡ ምናሴ፡ በመራ፡ ለአቢረዳኝና፡ ለደቅማ፡ ልጆች፡ በዕርቅ፡ ርስታቸውን፡ ስጡ፡ በአባ፡ ንዋየ፡ ማርያም፡ ዳኝነት፡ ፪ቱም፡ ይህን፡ ቢያፈርሱ፡ ፲ ወቄት፡ እንደሰጡ፡ ከምድራቸውም፡ እንደወዱ፡ በእግዚአብሔር፡ ምሉዋሉ፡ ባካፋ፡ ይሙት፡ ብለዋሉ፡ ሀገራም፡ አባ፡ ጉንዳ፡ ነው፡ ያባ፡ ሠርፀ፡ ማርያም፡ ልጆች፡ ዋሳቸው፡ ካሰ፡ ነው፡ የአቢረዳኝ፡ ልጆች፡ ዋሳቸው፡ በጅሮንድ፡ ቢተው፡ ነው፡ ቄስ፡ ገበዝነት፡ ያባ፡ ሠርፀ፡ ማርያም፡ ልጆች፡ ነው፡ ሊቀ፡ ደያቆንነት፡ ከሶስት፡ እንድ፡ ለአቢረዳኝ፡ ልጆች፡ ነው፡

251. L.D.3.

በዘመነ፡ ማርቆስ፡ በእኔ፡ አያሁ፡ መንግስት፡ ባደስ፡ እንባ፡ በደጎርኮ፡ በሣፍዳ፡ በሰንደጋ፡ በጥምባት፡ ከዘኖች፡ ከባሶች፡ ከማኖች፡ እርስቱ፡ ነውብዬ፡ በተከራከርሁ፡ ጊዜ፡ እኔ፡ ይሙቱ፡ ተረታን፡ እሉ፡ መሳክርቱ፡ ልቄ፡ ተከሌ፡ ልቄ፡ ነጪ፡ እኔ፡ በደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ ትቀድስበት፡ እሉ፡ የታ፡ ዘዘው፡ ዓቤቶ፡ ንጸክሶስ፡ በመላክ፡ ብርሃን፡ ወልደሐዋርያት፡ በሊቀ፡ መዘምራን፡ ጎርጎርዮስ፡ ሸመች፡ ባለ፡ ርስቱቱ፡ የወደዘሮ፡ እንጀሪ፡ ልጅ፡ ወደዘሮ፡ ወለተስላሴ፡

252. L.D.4.

በመልእክ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ቴዎድሮስ፡ አለቅነት፡ በሊቀ፡ ጠበብት፡ በትሩ፡ ሹመት፡ ፭ ሊግና፡ አቦሊ፡ ሲታረቁ፡ አባ፡ እርሐኤድስ፡ በሰጥዋቸው፡ እሪም፡ ደሆር፡ መከራ፡ የጋሻ፡ እኩል፡ ዳዚበሆን፡ የጋሻ፡ እኩል፡ ላቦሊ፡ ደርሶታል፡ ለዜህ፡ ዋሁ፡ ያባ፡ መልክ፡ ዴዴቅ፡ ልጅ፡ ያቦ፡ ባርያ፡ የሺማግሌ፡ ዳኛው፡ መምህር፡ ዓርክ፡ ልዑል፡ የሺማግሌቹም፡ ፲፪ ናቸው፡ በዚህ፡ እኔ፡ ይሙቱ፡ ተበብለዋሉ፡ ይህነን፡ ያፈረስ፡ ወቄት፡ ግድድ፡ ነው።

253. L.D.5.

በዘመነ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ባሕሪ፡ አዮአስ፡ መንግሥት፡ ባለቃ፡ አድራ፡ ሹመት፡ ፍርደ፡ ገብሩ፡ በ፱ ድሪም፡ የሸጠውን፡ ምድር፡ አልሸጥሁም፡ ብሎ፡ በቄስ፡ እኔ፡ ዋሴ፡ ሹመት፡ ተረትቶ፡ እኔ፡ ይሙቱ፡ ወርቁም፡ ደረሰኝ፡ ብሎ፡ ጥንተ፡ መድኃኔን፡ እኬቦናዊትን፡ ጠለፋ፡ ናሕድን፡ የናሕድ፡ ጠለፋ፡ ወርቅ፡ ምድርንና፡ ቦታውን፡ ሲሰጥ፡ መሳክርቱ፡ ደብተሮችም፡ የከተማ፡ ሰዎችም፡ ያውቃሉ፡ በምድሩም፡ ፅዳ፡ የለበትም፡

254. L.D.6.

ከአጽፈ፡ መለኮት፡ ልጅ፡ ከኮሌ፡ በ፫ ወቄት፡ የጃርጃርን፡ ምድር፡ አቤቶ፡ ወልደ፡ እስጢፋኖስ፡ ገ

ዙት፡ ቀድሞ፡ በቄስ፡ እጼ፡ ዕልፍኖስ፡ እለቅነት፡ በመምሳሌ፡ ቴዎድሮስ፡ መሪ፡ ጌትነት፡ መድኖ
ቹ፡ እባ፡ ሱራና፡ እባ፡ ናቡቴ፡ ኋላም፡ እፍርሱ፡ ቢመጸ፡ በመምህር፡ ዘሚካኤል፡ እለቅነት፡ በመ
ምህር፡ ማሞ፡ መሪ፡ ጌትነት፡ ተረትት፡ ደግሞ፡ ተረጸመ፡ በቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ በቀኝም፡ በ
ግራውም፡ ደብተራ፡ ፈት፡ መድኃኒት፡ የቀደሙትን፡ መድኖቹን፡ ሰጠ፡ ዘመኑም፡ በጼ፡ ኢየሱስ
ስ፡ ዘመኑን፡ በተረጸመም፡ ዕለት፡ ለምልክት፡ ይሆነኝ፡ ብሎ፡ መቶ፡ ይሆን፡ ሎሚ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክር
ስቲያን፡ እረሰሱ፡ ደቀ፡ መዝሙሩ፡ ሁሉ፡ ተናጠቀው፡

255. L.D.7.

በዘመነ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ በእጼ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ መንግሥት፡ በእለቃ፡ ለንጠሌዎች፡ ሺመት፡ በማሳፀንቱ፡
መሪጌትነት፡ በእባ፡ ተክሌ፡ እቃ፡ ቤትነት፡ የፍጻሜ፡ ደብዳቤ፡ እጸፈ፡ ሄላ፡ በልደታ፡ የቄስ፡ እዳኔ
ን፡ እሪም፡ ወደዘር፡ ወለተ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ቀምተው፡ ነበሩ፡ ያባቴን፡ እሪም፡ ተቀምጥዎ
ሁ፡ ብሎ፡ ሄላ፡ ለእጼ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ በነገረ፡ ጊዜ፡ ራስ፡ ሚካኤልን፡ እነጸጽር፡ አሉዎ፡ ባነጸጸሩም፡ ጊ
ዜ፡ ሄላ፡ ረታ፡ ይጸፍበዎች፡ እጼ፡ ይመቱ፡ ባሉዎ፡ ጊዜ፡ ይጸፍብኝ፡ ለቅቄ፡ አለሁ፡ እጼ፡ ይመቱ፡
አሉ፡ ያጸጸረዉም፡ ዳኛ፡ የሻለቃ፡ ተዝካሮ፡ ነበሩ፡

256. L.D.8.

በዘመነ፡ ማርቆስ፡ ባዩ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ መንግሥት፡ በመልዓክ፡ ብርሃኖት፡ ዜና፡ ገብራ
ል፡ ሹመት፡ በሊቀ፡ መዘምራን፡ ወልደ፡ ድንግል፡ በርእሰ፡ ደብር፡ ወልደ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ዝክረ፡ ንጉ
ሥ፡ እለቃ፡ እባ፡ እድጓዶቹው፡ ግራ፡ ጌታ፡ ደንጉላ፡ ቤት፡ ጠባቂ፡ ጌታ፡ እባ፡ ህንባቡ፡ መጨኖች፡
ወልደ፡ ሩፋኤል፡ ዘረሩ፡ እሞች፡ ወልደ፡ ሚካኤል፡ እንቁሥላሴ፡ አስራት፡ ካሌብ፡ እቃ፡ ጠባቂ፡ ና
ቡቴ፡ የወደዘር፡ እድቀ፡ ድንግልን፡ ያያተዎች፡ ሪም፡ ወደዘር፡ የምሥራች፡ ጨርሰው፡ እጅ፡ እደረ
ጉት፡ ባላንየዎ፡ የሰሞን፡ እልከፍልም፡ ቢል፡ እርሰዎ፡ ፲፪፡ ወቄት፡ ከፈሉ፡ ባዩም፡ በደብሩም፡ ፈ
ቃድ፡

257a. L.D.9a.

በዘመነ፡ ሉቃስ፡ ባዩ፡ ተክለሃይማኖት፡ መንግሥት፡ ባለቃ፡ ክፍለ፡ ማርያም፡ ባለቃ፡ አውሴ፡
ባለቃ፡ ወልደ፡ ከላሴ፡ ባለቃ፡ ሂሩት፡ ወልደ፡ ናውድ፡ ከሣሺ፡ እባ፡ ተክሌ፡ ተከሣሺ፡ አትወለድ
ም፡ ብሎ፡ ሲማግት፡ በመወለዱ፡ ረታው፡ የቦቺን፡ እኩሌታ፡ የጎርጎራን፡ እኩሌታ፡ በወልና
ውድ፡ የጎርጎራን፡ እኩሌታ፡ የቦቺን፡ እኩሌታ፡ ላባ፡ ተክሌ፡ እስኪሞት፡ እባ፡ ተክሌ፡ ይብላ፡
ከሞተ፡ ወድያለያ፡ ፵ አመት፡ እለባ፡ ወልልደ፡ ይብላ፡ ብሎ፡ የሰጠው፡ ሞሳክሮቹ፡ ፻፶ ደብ
ተራ፡ ነው፡ የዚህ፡ ግደዱ፡ ወቄት፡ ነው፡

257b. L.D.9b.

የወልደ፡ ካህናት፡ ልጅ፡ ወልደ፡ ናእድ፡ ካባ፡ ተክሌ፡ ከወንድሙ፡ ጋራ፡ በተሳላ፡ ጊዜ፡ በመልእክ፡
ብርሃኖት፡ ክፍለ፡ ማርያም፡ በመልእክ፡ ብርሃኖት፡ አውሴ፡ በመልእክ፡ ብርሃኖት፡ ወልደ፡ ሥ
ላሴ፡ ዳኝነት፡ ከሰሰው፡ እባ፡ ተክሌን፡ ያባቴን፡ ምድር፡ እካፍለኝ፡ ብሎ፡ እርሱም፡ አትወለድም፡
አለው፡ ከዝያ፡ ወድያ፡ ግን፡ ወልደ፡ ናእድ፡ ረታ፡ እባ፡ ተክሌ፡ ተረታ፡ ዳግመኛም፡ በመልእክ፡ ብ
ርሃኖት፡ ሂሩት፡ ዳኝነት፡ ተረጸጸመ፡ ምሉ፡ ሪም፡ ከ፪ አድርገው፡ ተካፈሉ፡ እባ፡ ተክሌ፡ ግን፡
ሲሞት፡ ወልደ፡ ናእድ፡ ደርቦ፡ ይብላ፡ ቀድሞ፡ ፵ አመት፡ ከለቀረበት፡ ብለው፡ እስታረቋቸው፡
ይህንም፡ ያረረሰ፡ ወቄት፡ ይክፈል፡ ብለዋል፡

258. L.D.10.

ባሄ፡ኢዮአስ፡መንግሥት፡በመልእክ፡ብርሃናት፡አውሴ፡የወነቤ፡ወልደ፡ጊዮርጊስ፡ልጅ፡ጌን
ሆይ፡መስቀል፡ክብራ፡በ፲፪ ወቄት፡ሸጡ፡የግራ፡ጌታ፡ወልደ፡ገብርኤል፡መድኑ፡ቤት፡ጠባ
ቂ፡ጌታ፡ወልደ፡ድንግል፡ባሄ፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖት፡መንግሥትም፡ዘመዶች፡ቢመዱ፡እለ
ቀጸላ፡ተረተው፡ሄዱ፡ምስክሮችም፡መልእክ፡ብርሃናት፡ዘፈሩ፡ሊቄ፡ኃይሉ፡ሊቄ፡ገብሩ፡
በጅሮድ፡ሚክያስ፡ደብተሮችም፡ሁሉ፡የሚጓና፡አባት፡መምር፡መርዶክዮስ፡።

259. L.D.11.

ያቤት፡ኅይሉን፡እሪም፡ይቴጌ፡ለአጋፋሪ፡ክንፉ፡ሰጡ፡ኋላግን፡በራስ፡ሚካኤል፡ጊዜ፡ዜና፡ገ
ብርኤል፡ወስዶት፡ነበር፡ለእሄ፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖት፡ቢነግር፡ጥፋት፡አለኝ፡አለ፡ጥፋትኸን፡
መልሶ፡እሪሙን፡ሰጥቸዋለሁ፡አሉ፡ጥፋቱም፡ወቄት፡ከ፪ አቀመት፡ነጢ፡ይህንን፡መልሰጢ፡
እሪሙን፡እጅ፡አደረጉ፡ፍጹሜጢንም፡መልእክ፡ፀሐይ፡ተክሌ፡ሊቀ፡ጠበብት፡ጉብ፻፪፡ካህ
ናቱም፡ሁሉ፡ያውቃሉ፡

260. L.D.12.

በዘመነ፡ማቴዎስ፡ባሄ፡ሰሎሞን፡መንግሥት፡በለቃ፡ያቦ፡ባርያ፡በሊቀ፡መዘምራን፡ክንፉ፡
በርእሰ፡ደብር፡ጌሌ፡በቀኝ፡ጌታ፡መርዳቂ፡በግራ፡ጌታ፡ኃይሉ፡ቤት፡ጠባቂ፡ጌቶች፡ርእሰ፡
ደብር፡ኪዳኑ፡የሥላሴ፡ባርያ፡መጪኖች፡ገብረ፡ኪዳን፡ወርቄ፡እሞች፡አባ፡ፀዳሉ፡ቄስ፡አሚ
ናዳብ፡ቄስ፡ወልደ፡ሚካኤል፡ኃብሉ፡ጥራን፡ጠባቂ፡አባ፡እንቁ፡እቤት፡ገጸ፡ሥላሴ፡ልጅዎን፡
እቤጽርሐን፡ከሊቄ፡ገብሩ፡ልጅ፡ሲያጋቡ፡የደብረ፡ብርሃንን፡ቦታ፡ማጫ፡ጸርተውለት፡የነበ
ረውን፡ሊቄ፡ገብሩ፡የማጫ፡ቦታዬ፡ነው፡ተዝካር፡አውፅፎአለሁ፡ብለው፡በያዙ፡ጊዜ፡ያቤት፡
ገጸ፡ሥላሴ፡ልጅ፡ትርጉን፡ብትከራከረዎ፡ማጫዎ፡እንደሆን፡ተዝካርም፡እንዳወዱ፡በምስ
ክር፡ረትዋት፡ገላጋይ፡ግን፡ተው፡አትበል፡ብሉ፡ወቄት፡ወርቅ፡ሰጥዋት፡እማንደህ፡ነገር፡
እንዳታነሣ፡ለዜህ፡መድን፡ርእሰ፡ደብር፡ደንጌላን፡ሰጥታለች፡።

261. L.D.13.

በዘመነ፡ሉቃስ፡በመልእክ፡ፀሐይ፡ሮብአም፡በሊቀ፡ጠበብት፡ገብረ፡ሥሉስ፡ሹመት፡በጥር፡
በ፱ ቀ፡ዓርብ፡ወይዘሮ፡ሉሊትና፡አለው፡አይቀር፡በአዛጋ፡ገብረ፡ልዑል፡በቀስቋም፡እሪም፡
ተከራክሮ፡ተረት፡ያለው፡አይቀር፡ካሳ፡ብለው፡እንንደ፡ሰጥዎ፡አዛጋ፡ገብረ፡ልዑል፡ለወይ
ዘሮ፡ሉሊት፡ለዚህ፡ዋሱ፡ሉሊስ፡ጠለፋይቱ፡አበዛ፡ፋሲኮ፡እንደ፡ሰጠዎም፡የመሰከሩት፡ሊቀ፡
ጠበብት፡በትሩ፡አዛጋ፡ዘወልድ፡ጽራግ፡ማሶሬ፡ሚካኤል፡እባ፡ነቅዓ፡ጥበብ፡ጸፈ፡ክፍ
ሉ፡መምር፡ዘሚካኤል፡ጸፈ፡ወልደ፡ኢየሱስ፡አዛጋ፡ያዕቆብ፡ይህን፡እማሥተው፡የፈረ
ዱ፡ርእስ፡ደብር፡ጎዳና፡ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ፍቅሩ፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡ሰሎሞን፡ንዋይ፡በጅሮንድ፡ከራብዮ
ን፡በቀረም፡ደብሩ፡ምስክር፡ናቸው፡እሄ፡ይመቱ፡ብሉ፡ሂይ፡አለ፡

262. L.D.14.

ግራ፡ጌታ፡ስሎሞንና፡አባ፡እስየህኝ፡ተማግተው፡በጃኑሳ፡ምድር፡፩ ም፡አቸራሆ፡በደብዳቤ፡
ተረተው፡መሳክርቱም፡መልእክ፡ፀሐይ፡ሮብዓምና፡ሊቀ፡ጠበብት፡ገብረ፡ሥሉስ፡ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡
ፍቅሩ፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡ክንፉ፡ርእስ፡ጎዳና፡ወስን፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡ቄርቅስ፡በቀረውም፡ሁሉ፡እንደ፡
ተረታ፡አባ፡እሳየህኝ፡ደብሩ፡ያውቃሉ፡ይህም፡በፈረስጊዜ፡ግዴዱ፡፫ ወቄት፡ወርቅ፡ነው፡ዋ
ስ፡አባ፡ወልደ፡ፋፋኤል፡ነው፡

263. L.D.15.

እፄ፡ተክለ፡ጊዳርጊስ፡በነገሡ፡በ፫ ዓመት፡በዘመነ፡ማርቆስ፡ቄስ፡እፄ፡ከብቴና፡ወደዘሮ፡ሄሬኔ፡
ሲታረቁ፡ባባታቸው፡በቸረ፡ደሞ፡ምድር፡ቤተ፡ልሔምን፡ጨልማን፡እዘዞን፡እባ፡ሳሙኤልን፡
ብባ፡ጀግን፡ካርከርን፡የደጩ፡ቤትን፡በለሳን፡የአቡነ፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖትን፡እሪም፡ከኑለት፡
እድርጉ፡ብለው፡እስታርቀዋል፡እስታራቆች፡ዓቃቤ፡ስዓት፡እቤስሎም፡መምሕር፡ዘረረ፡ግዛ
ኤል፡ቀስ፡እፄ፡ኪዳነ፡ወልድ፡መጋቢ፡ክንፉ፡የሻለቃ፡ክሣዴ፡እቤቶ፡ብንቱ፡እጋፋሪ፡ነጫ፡እካ
ል፡ዳኛ፡ደጩ፡ተስፋ፡የእርቅ፡ዋስ፡የወደዘሮ፡ሄሬኔ፡ቄስ፡እፄ፡ኪዳነ፡ወልድ፡የቄስ፡ዓፄ፡ከብ
ቴ፡ዋስ፡የሻለቃ፡ክሣዴ፡ዴሐነን፡ያረረሰ፡፪ ወቄት፡ግድድ፡እፄ፡ዴሙቱ፡ተባብለዋል፡

264. L.D.16.

በዘመነ፡ሉቃስ፡በታላሣስ፡በ፲፫ ቀ፡ዓርብ፡በመልእክ፡ፀሐይ፡ሮብዓም፡በሊቀ፡ገብረ፡ሥሉስ፡
ሹመት፡በብየ፡ምድር፡መምር፡ወልደ፡ዮናና፡ጽራግ፡ማሰራ፡ግዛኤል፡ከአባ፡እስየህኝ፡ጋራ፡
ተከራክሮ፡ተረቶ፡፩ ም፡ስቀላበር፡፩ ም፡ኪረግ፡ጃኑሳም፡፩ ም፡ስንበት፡ዳስ፡እሸቴን፡እዝ
ማሪውን፡ከለ፡በታው፡መሳክርቱ፡ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ፍቅሩ፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡ስሎሞን፡ርእስ፡ደብር፡ጎና፡
ግራ፡ጌታ፡ክንፉ፡ወልደ፡እግዚእብሔር፡አባ፡ወልደ፡ሩፋኤል፡በቀረውም፡ደብሩ፡ሁሉ፡ያው
ቃሉ፡በአገራም፡ኪዳኑና፡ባዴሞት፡የቀሩትም፡፲ ናቸው፤ተረቶ፡አባ፡እስየህኝ፡የብየ፡ልጆች፡
እጅ፡አደረጉ፤ለ፫ቱ፡ምድር፡ዋስ፡አባ፡ዘወልዴ፡ለእዝማሪ፡እቤቴ፡ለቦታው፡ዋስ፡ቢድን፡ዴ
ህ፡እደደረርስ፡ግድዴ፡፫ ወቄት፡ወርቅ፡ነው፡ጽራግ፡ማስራ፡እደሩ፡እቤቶ፡እክሊሉ፡ኃይለ፡
እግዚእ፡ብላቴን፡ጌታ፡ባዶስ፡እቤቶ፡እዴንቴ፡አላቃ፡ገብሩ፡

265. L.D.17.

በዘመነ፡ሉቃስ፡በመልእክ፡ፀሐይ፡ሣህሉ፡በሊቀ፡ጠበብት፡ገብረ፡ሥሉሶ፡ሹመት፡የፀባቲ፡ሰ
ዊሮስ፡ልጆች፡ብርሃኑቆና፡ውሾን፡ተደልቶ፡በሰዴፋ፡ዕየ፡፴ ምስክር፡ሰጥታ፡ውሾን፡ወሰደ
ች፡ዕየቸውም፡ገምበራና፡በለስ፡ነው፡የብርሃኑቆም፡ዕየ፡ደዝቢሆን፡ነው፤የልዑል፡ሠምሬ፡
እየ፡እብናትን፡ብርሃኑቆንና፡ውሾንን፡ከሁለት፡ብሉ፡ብሉ፡እስታረቆቸው፡የሸማግሌ፡
ደኛ፡ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ፍቅሩ፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡ቂርቆስ፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡ስሎሞን፡እቤቶ፡ተክለ፡ጌርጊስ፤
የብርሃኑቆ፡የርቅ፡ዋስ፡እቤቶ፡ኃይለ፡እግዚእ፡ጠለፍው፡ነጩ፡ነው፡የውሾን፡ዋስ፡እቤቶ፡
ተክለ፡ጌርጊስ፡

266. L.D.18.

በዘመነ፡ሉቃስ፡በሳዳር፡በመልእክ፡ፀሐይ፡እብሳዴ፡ሹመት፡በሊቀ፡ጠበብት፡እጽቁ፡ሹ
መት፡መምራ፡ተስፈ፡ላበ፡ዋሴ፡ዋሴ፡የሰጥዋቸውን፡ሪም፡ደብተራ፡እሳየኸኝ፡ካባ፡
ዋሴ፡ገዛሁ፡ብለው፡የታቸው፡ልጅም፡ገብሩ፡እልገዙም፡ብሉ፡ተደልተዉ፡ነበረ፡ሲታ
ረቁ፡ግን፡በለሳን፡፩ ጋሻ፡ፈረውዳን፡፩ ጋሻ፡ከ፪ት፡ከ፪ት፡እርጉ፡ብለው፡እስታረቁ
ቸው፡እስታረቆቹም፡አለቃ፡እስቡ፡ሊቀ፡ጠበብት፡እንግዳ፡አለቃ፡እጽቁ፡እሰላፈ፡ያራ
ድ፡ወልደ፡እግዚእብሔር፡ዘወልዴ፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖት፡እፄ፡ዴሙቱ፡ብለዎ
ል፡የርቅ፡ዋሶችም፡ለደብተራ፡እሳየኸኝ፡ግራ፡ጌታ፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖት፡ለገብሩ፡ርዕስ፡
ደብር፡ፍቅሩ፡ናቸው፡ዴህንም፡በሼጡ፡ጊዜ፡መድን፡ገብሩ፡ነው፡የብናትን፡፩ የፈረ
ውደ፡ጋሻ፡እኩል፡የበለሳን፡የጋሻ፡እኩል፡ደብተራ፡እሳየኸኝ፡ካባ፡ዋሴ፡በ፫ት፡ወቄት፡
ከላድ፡ገዝተዋል፡በመልእክ፡ፀሐይ፡የተክሌ፡እለቅነት፡በሊቀ፡ጠበብት፡በትሩ፡ሹመ
ት፡መድኑ፡ርእስ፡ደብር፡ዜና፡ገብርኤል፡መሳክርቱም፡ደብተሮች፡ናቸው

267. L.D.19.

በዘመነ፡ዮሐንስ፡ባሄ፡ተክለ፡ጊዮርጊስ፡መንግሥት፡በአቃቤ፡ሰዓት፡ከብቴ፡ሸመት፡ወልደ፡ሥላሴና፡ድምቃ፡በርስት፡ከጸሐቁ፡ጋራ፡ተጸልተው፡ነበሩ፡ፍትሐ፡ነገሥት፡አባት፡ያልሰራላት፡ዲቃላ፡አትብላ፡አለ፡ሁሉም፡እንዴህ፡ፈረዱ፡አዴ፡ይመቱ፡በተፈረደው፡ቆምኅ፡አሉ፡ለዜህም፡ዋሱ፡ለኮልካይ፡ጉያቱ፡ወልደ፡ሥላሴ፡ነው፡መሳክርቱ፡ሊቄ፡ገብሩ፡ደብተረው፡ሁሉ፡

268. L.D.20.

ባሄ፡ተክለ፡ጊዮርጊስ፡መንግሥት፡በብልህ፡ገብሩ፡አለቅነት፡ዕፁ፡ሲና፡እናትዋ፡አባትዋ፡የበሉትን፡ወርቅ፡፬ ወቄት፡ወቄቱ፡የክርስትና፡አባቴ፡ሲሆን፡፲፪ ጫን፡እህል፡የተመሰከረ፡ቤተ፡ዘመድ፡የመሰከሩት፡ደብተሮች፡ሸማግሎች፡የመሰከሩት፡ይህ፡ነው። ዕዋዋን፡ከፍላ፡ሸጣልኛች፡ጌታ፡ኢፍራምን፡መድን፡አድርጋ፡ተማግቼ፡ረትቼ፡፲ ጫን፡እህል፡ከፍዬ፡አለሁ፡በገብረ፡ኪዳን፡ጊዜ፡፲፯ ማድጋ፡ወቄት፡ሲሆን፡የበሉትም፡ጫኝ፡ዘወልደ፡አባ፡ወልደ፡ዮና፡ምስክሮቹም፡ደብተሮች፡ሸማግሎች፡ያዋሰኝው፡በጅሮንድ፡ኃይለ፡ሥላሴ፡

269. L.D.21.

በዘመነ፡ሉቃስ፡በጥቅምት፡ባ፲፬ ቀን፡ሐሙስ፡በመልእክ፡ፀሐይ፡ወርቁ፡በሊቀ፡ጠበብት፡እንግዳ፡ሹመት፡የወሰንን፡እሪም፡በለሳን፡በመልእክ፡ፀሐይ፡ሣህሉ፡ሹመት፡ተክሌ፡ሀብቱ፡ያስፋቀውን፡እሄ፡ጌሉ፡ለብላታ፡ለታ፡ልጅ፡ለትርንጎ፡እንደ፡ቀደመ፡ይጸፍላት፡አሉ፡የታዘዘውም፡አቤል፡ነው፡

270. L.D.22.

እሄ፡ጌሉ፡በነገሡ፡በ፲፪ ዓመት፡የመዲድ፡ማሞን፡እሪም፡አባ፡ተንሡ፡ገዝተውት፡የነበረውን፡ለቴዎደጦስ፡ክንፉ፡ሸጠውት፡የነበረውን፡ላለቃ፡ወልደ፡ገብርኤል፡ቢሸጡ፡ፋሲል፡ኂሩት፡አባ፡አድቁ፡አልተሸጠብነም፡ብለው፡በመልእክ፡ገነት፡ወልደ፡ማርያም፡ዳኛ፡ያዙ፡እንደ፡ገዙ፡ምስክር፡ፀሩ፡ምስክሮቹ፡አለቃ፡አድቁ፡ቀኙ፡ጌታ፡መንክር፡፪ምት፡የወጠንብ፡ምስለኔ፡ያበ፡ከርያ፡ወልደ፡ሥላሴ፡ቀሰውስቱም፡ዲያቆናቱም፡ደብተሮችም፡እንደገዙ፡እንደበሉም፡እንዲቀድሱም፡እናውቃለን፡መሰከረ፡በዚህ፡በተመሰከረው፡ምስክር፡ትለቁ፡በቃ፡ብለው፡ሹማምት፡ፈረዱ፡በዴግባሂ፡ከልቄ፡ፀምሩ፡ቢሔዱ፡በጅሮንድ፡ዘወልደ፡ማርያም፡በጅሮንድ፡አበ፡ባርያ፡ልቄ፡ፀምሩ፡ትለቁ፡በቃ፡ብለው፡ፈርደዋል፡እሄ፡ይመቱ፡ተረታነ፡ብለው፡ተቀምጠው፡አድረዋል፡ዘሠረቆ፡ወዘረሐቆ፡በሥልጠነ፡ኤጥሮስ፡ወለውሎስ፡ውጉዘ፡ይኩን።

271. L.D.23.

በዘመነ፡ማርቆስ፡ባሄ፡ጌሉ፡መንሥት፡ባለቃ፡ገብረ፡ሕይወት፡አለቅነት፡መሪጌታ፡ዝክሩና፡ሊቁ፡ወልደ፡ድንግል፡በደብተራ፡ሱራ፡በልደታ፡ቦታ፡ተጸልተው፡መሪ፡ጌታ፡ዝክሩ፡ባላድ፡ወርቅ፡ገዝች፡አለሁ፡ብለው፡ምስክር፡ቢጸሩ፡አጡ፡መክብብ፡ገላገለው፡፱ ሺማግሌ፡አስረኛ፡ፍትሐ፡ነገሥት፡አድርገው፡አማረፁን፡የተመረዱቱ፡ሺማግሎች፡መሪጌታን፡እንደ፡ገና፡ወቂት፡ወርቅ፡ሰጥተሐ፡ገዛ፡ብለው፡ፈረዱባቸው፡ሊቁ፡ወልደ፡ድንግል፡ንም፡የሱራን፡የልጅ፡ልጅ፡መስለው፡ከመዲ፡መድንም፡ይስጡ፡ድፈትም፡ያስጽፉ፡ብለው፡ፈረዱብዎ፡መሪጌታ፡ዝክሩም፡ወቂት፡ሰጥተው፡መድን፡ተቀበሉ፡ሊቁ፡ወልደ፡ድንግልም፡ወቂት፡ወርቅ፡ተቅብለው፡አዛዢ፡እምኃ፡ኪሮስን፡መድን፡ሰጡ፡እሄ፡ይመቱ፡ብለው፡ታርቀው፡ተለያዩ፡

272. L.D.24.

በመልእክ፡ፀሐይ፡እንግዳ፡አለቅነት፡በሊቀ፡ጠበብት፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖት፡ሹመት፡የሸቴ፡
እንግዳን፡እሪም፡የጋሻ፡እኩል፡እንጥናቅን፡ከቦታው፡ጋራ፡ወይዘሮ፡ትኩ፡የአዘኛውን፡
ውዳጅ፡ሳኩ፡ሲሞት፡ያወረሰዎን፡ወይዘሮ፡ምርጢት፡በምስክር፡እረትተው፡ወሰደ፡ወይ
ዘሮ፡ትኩም፡አዜ፡ይሙቱ፡ብላ፡ተረጽማ፡ለቀቀች፡መሳክርቱ፡ቀኝ፡ጌታ፡ገብረ፡ኪዳን፡
ግራ፡ጌታ፡ወሰን፡ቤት፡ጠባቂ፡ጌቶች፡ሳህይና፡ጎልጃ፡እሞች፡አለቃ፡ንጋትና፡ቄስ፡ገብ
ሩ፡መጪኖች፡ትኩና፡ክንፈ፡ገብርኤል፡እቃቤቱ፡መምህራ፡ወልደ፡ኤዎስጣቴስዎስ፡በቀ
ረውም፡ደብሩ፡ያውቃሉ፡

273. L.D.25.

በመልእክ፡ፀሐይ፡እከሮም፡በሌቀ፡ጠበብት፡ተክለ፡ሃይማኖት፡ሹመት፡፪ ጫን፡እህል፡
፹ ጪው፡የአቤቶ፡አበኔርን፡እሪም፡ክንፈ፡ገብርኤል፡በልቶ፡ማኒን፡የጋሻ፡እኩል፡የገ
ዛጪን፡አዜ፡ጊጋር፡ተረጽሞ፡ቢያረርስ፡ለአቤቶ፡አበኔር፡ሰጥተዋል፡ደብሩ፡ያውቃሉ

274. L.D.26.

በዘመነ፡ዮሐንስ፡በአዲ፡ሣህሉ፡መንግሥት፡በአለቃ፡ገብረ፡ሐይወት፡አለቅነት፡በመም
ራ፡ገብሩ፡ፅዕቤትነት፡መሪጌታ፡ኪኑና፡ሳቄኤል፡ኃይሉ፡ተደልተው፡በ፯ ሹማግሌ፡ሲታ
ረቁ፡ከመምር፡ማሞ፡ሪም፡አምስት፡ጫን፡ከሶስት፡ማድጋ፡ከደምባ፡ከልድታ፡ቦታ፡እ
ኩሌታውን፡የስቄኤል፡ኃይሉ፡ሰጡ፡ለዚህ፡መሳክርቱ፡ደብተሮቹ፡

Appendix C.L.1.

በአኩቴተ፡አብ፡ወወልድ፡ወመንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡እነ፡ንጉሥ፡ገብረ፡መስቀል፡ጉለትኩ፡ለድዮን፡
ደብረ፡እንበሳ፡አዳጎ፡አድሸሐይ፡ከምድዳ፡አረውህ፡ጋራ፡ኮላል፡ከማጠቁም፡ጋራ፡አድወ
ረርት፡ደገሊ፡አድ፡ክፍሎም፡አድ፡ማሙሐ፡ትኩል፡እብሂ፡ደህነን፡ሁሉ፡እጣን፡ዞሬ፡ነ
ው፡ጉልቱ፡መርሕ፡ሠናይ፡ሀራድ፡ብዕራይ፡ጉራሆ፡ኩእት፡ከዚህ፡ሥዩመ፡አሕሳስ፡አይግባ፡
ብለው፡ገዝተዋል፡፪ ጳጳሳት፡ከዚያ፡የተቀበሩ፡ስምዓኛው፡አቡነ፡ማቴዎስ፡አቡነ፡መቃርስ፡
ደባላሉ፡፳ መምሕራን፡፵ ቀሳውስት፡ገዝተዋል፡በቃለ፡አብ፡ወወልድ፡ወመንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡በቃ
ለ፡፲፮፡ወ፪፡ሐዋርያት፡በቃለ፡፫፡፶ት፡ብለው፡ዘሠረቅ፡ወዘፈሐቅ፡ውጉዘ፡ለደኩን፡እስ
ከ፡ለዓለም፡ደህም፡የተደረ፡በዘመነ፡ማርቆስ፡በአዜ፡ፋሲል፡መንግሥት፡በአለቃ፡ዘጊዮር
ጊስ፡አለቅነት፡በመጋቢት፡በ፳ ቀን፡ነው፡ሶስተኛም፡አዜ፡ተክለ፡ጊዮርጊስ፡በራስ፡አያዳር፡እራ
ስነት፡በአለቃ፡ወልደ፡ፋፋኤል፡አለቅነት፡አዜ፡ገብረ፡መስቀል፡የሰጡአትን፡ሰጥቻለሁ፡ብለ
ዋል።

Appendix C.L.2.

በአኩቴተ፡አብ፡ወወልድ፡ወመንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡ላሊበላ፡ሥርዓ፡ጉልተ፡ሐልቋኝነ፡ለእግዚአብ
ሔር፡አብ፡ወድሳረ፡ሐዜ፡ደኩና፡አምላክ፡ሠር፡ለ፲ ወ፪ በዓላት፡ሸሕ፡እጽራ፡፪ ሞገርያ፡፪
ማድጋ፡፪ ለደብተራ፡፪ ለበዓለ፡ሐርብ፡ሲሶ፡ለረባነ፡ደብር፡እምነ፡በዓለ፡ሐርብ፡ወዘሐላ፡
ሐደባ፡ዞካም፡ሐሸልማ፡ልብ፡ደኃራ፡አውግር፡አውግሩ፡መየምቆጪ፡ሰሌበጠ፡ተራ፡ሐራጤ፡
ተቅራራ፡አውግር፡አውግሩ፡መመተገያ፡የናዘ፡መዓቀብያ፡ወድሳረ፡ሠር፡ሐዜ፡ዘርእ፡ያዕቆ
ብ፡ከመ፡ኢይባ፡መኳንንት፡ወቃለ፡ሐኬ፡ወካልእንሰ፡ሰብእ።

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- 59a. B. L. Or. 829*, 14r. - 25r.; 19th Century.
- 59b. B. L. Or. 829*, 27r. - 32r.; 19th Century.
- 59c. B. L. Or. 829*, 47r. - 53r.; 19th Century.
60. [Cambridge] Add. 1570; 16th Century.
61. [Manchester] Eth. ms. 27; 18th Century.
62. [Manchester] Eth. ms. 28; 18th Century.
63. Ms. Eth. Windsor VI; 18th Century.

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GLOSSARIES OF OFFICIAL TITLES AND TERMS

I. Official Titles

Abba	Title of Monks.
Abéto	Prince
Abun	Bishop
Abunä	Lit., 'Our Father'; It is a title placed before the names of bishops and saints.
Afä	Lit., 'Mouth'; deputy when it preceeds another title.
Afä Negus	Lit. 'Mouth of King'; Chief Justice.
Agafari	Court Usher.
Akäl Daña	District Judge.
Aläqa	Chief of a Church.
Aqabé Sä'at	Lit., 'Keeper of Hours'; a senior ecclesiastic at the palace and day to day adviser to the emperor.
Aqamba	Commander of forces at an <i>amba</i> or a flat-topped mountain used as treasury, jail or fortress.
Aqans'än	Title of certain provincial governors.
Asälafi	Court Page.
Azazh	Responsible for specific functions at the palace.
Azmach	A Military Commander.
Bä'alä Harb	Royal Body guard.
Bä'alä Heg	An officer who worked under the Bäjerond of the Zefan Bét. The Bäjerond being the keeper of the crown and also in charge of the decorations of the royal apartments.
Bä'altéhat	Wife of an emperor. A similar title also appears as Bä'alttä Shähna.

Bäjerond	Royal Treasurer.
Bäträ Yarek	The title of the aläqa of the Church of Tädbabä Maryam in the district of Amara Saynet now in the province of Wello. It is now the title of the Head of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.
Balambaras	Master of the emperor's cavalry.
Basha	Title of a military commander equivalent to <i>däjazmach</i> .
Bét T'äbaqi	Lit., 'Keeper of House'; title given to officials who oversee the security and maintainance of a church.
Bitwädäd	Lit., 'The Beloved'; title usually kept by a ras.
Blatta	Court official whose main function is to act as counselor on legal matters.
Blattén Géta	Master of the royal household pages.
Chämäni	An official in certain regions with a rank equivalent to a gänta or a mälkäñña.
Ch'eqa or Ch'eqa shum	Village Official.
Däbtära	Church scholar and functionary who participates in the performance of hymns and chants in a church.
Däjazmach	Lit., 'Commander of the Door'; military commander of the vanguard.
Dug	Representative of a bishop in certain areas with the rank equivalent to Mälkäñña.
Ech'äge	The prior of the monastery of Däbrä Libanos in Shewa and the most senior native cleric, next to Egyptian Bishop.
Em	Lit., 'Mother'; a male church official who supervises food and drinks during a feast.
Emahoy	A honorific title for nuns.

Eqa Bét	See under Qésä Gäbäz.
Gänta	Lit. 'Trumpeter'; Chief of ch'eqa shums in certain regions with the rank equivalent to a mälkäñña and his main responsibility is to insure the collection of taxes.
Gasha Jagré	See under Jagré.
Grazmach	Lit. 'Commander of the Left'; a military rank junior to Qäñazmach.
Gera Géta	Lit. 'Lord of the left'; a title of a däbtära who leads fellow däbtäras during chanting standing on the left of a Märi Géta.
Géta	Lit., 'Lord'; A man of responsibility.
Hajji	A Muslim who performs the Haj rites.
Hedug Ras	A court official who was deputy to the Blattén Géta. The term hedug means left behind and he was thus in charge of the royal treasury and royal apartments in the absence of senior officials at the court. He also received revenues for the emperor from the chiefs of districts and provinces. The term hedug also appears in composition with West' and Raq implying deputy to the West' Säw and Raq Masäré.
Jagré	One who carried implements of war; i.e., Gasha Jagré, shield bearer and Säyfa Jagré, a sword bearer.
Käntiba	Title of the governor of Dembeya; it is now a honorific title of the mayor of Addis Ababa.
Lej	Lit., 'Child'; a honorific title for a son of noble birth.
Ligaba	Chamberlain.
Liqa Aksum	Chief of a monastery at Aksum (Huntingford (1965a): p.106).
Liqa Däbtära	Chief of Däbtäras.
Liqa Deyaqonat	'Chief of Deacons';

Liqä Kahnat	'Head Priest'; a priest with responsibility for churches in a district.
Liqä Liqawent	'Chief of Scholars'.
Liqä Ma'emran	'Chief of the Knowledgeable'.
Liqé Mäqwas	A court official who stands on the side of the emperor during ceremonial occasions and goes before the emperor during peace time and rides on his side carrying his shield and lance while marching during war-time.
Liqä Mäs'ané	An official in charge of the royal wardrobe.
Liqä Mäzämran	'Chief of Chanters'; Title of a church officer below a Re'esä Däber as, for example, in the church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé in Gondar.
Liqä T'äbäbt	'Chief of the Wise'; title of a church officer below a Re'esä Däber as, for example, in the Church of Däbrä S'ähay Qwesqam in Gondar.
Liqé	An ecclesiastic high court judge who may at times render judgements as one of the chief judges in the royal court.
Mäch'ané	Church usher whose main function is to allocate the seats to people during feasts and to act as a steward during a church procession on festivals. His rank is below a gera géta and is deputy to a Liqä Mäch'ané or an Agafari in some churches.
Mägabi	Steward (especially in a monastery) who is responsible for the preparation and distribution of food to a monastic community.
Mäkkeb	The aläqa of the Church of Atrenosä Maryam.
Mäl'akä Berhanat	Lit., 'Angel of Lights'; title of a chief of certain churches, i.e., the aläqa of the Church of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé in Gondar.

Mäl'akä Gänät	Lit., 'Angel of Paradise'; title of a chief of certain churches, i.e., the aläqa of the Church of As'as'amé Mika'él in Gondar.
Mäl'akä Sälam	Lit., 'Angel of Peace'; title of a chief of certain churches, i.e., the aläqa of the Church of Hamärä Noh in Gondar.
Mäl'akä S'ähay	Lit., 'Angel of Sun'; title of a chief of certain churches, i.e., the aläqa of the Church of Däbrä S'ähay Qwesqwam in Gondar.
Mälkänña	Chief of ch'eqa shums, whose responsibility is to insure the collection of taxes.
Mämher	Lit. 'Teacher'; title of a prior of a monastery. This title also appears in an abbreviated form, i.e., Mämré or Mämheré and either of them is used as an unofficial honorific address to a prior or a priest.
Märi Géta	Lit., 'Lord, the leader '; a title of a däbtära who leads fellow däbtäras during a chanting in a church.
Mesläné	Chief of a group of villages.
Mezeker	Recorder of taxes of a district.
Mulu Géta	Lit., 'Full Lord'; title of one of the church officers in certain churches, such as, the church of Mahdärä Maryam near Däbrä Tabor.
Nägadras	Lit., 'Head of a Trader'; chief of customs and taxes on trade.
Neburä Ed	Chief of the Church of Maryam S'eyon at Aksum and Governor of the District.
Qalä Has'é	Lit., 'Voice of the Emperor'; an emperor's proxy.
Qäñazmach	Lit. 'Commander of the Right'; a military rank senior to Grazmach.
Qäñ Géta	Lit., 'Lord of the Right'; a title of a däbtära who leads fellow däbtäras during a chanting standing on the right of a Märi Géta.

Qésä Gäbüz	Treasurer of a Church.
Qaqétachä	High-ranking Judge.
Qés	Priest.
Qés Has'é	Lit., 'Emperor's Priest'; Royal Chaplain. It is the title of the aläqa of the chief of the Church of Täklä Haymanot in Gondar.
Raq Masäre	An official who was also known as West' Saw or West' Azazh was responsible for the preparation of the emperor's bread. He was at the same time in charge of the has'é qollo for making the emperor's food.
Ras	Lit. 'Head', i.e., General. The most senior title of State Officials.
Re'esä Däbr	Lit., 'Head of a church'; a church officer whose position is below the aläqa of a church.
Sega Mälkäñña	A court official in charge of meat.
Shaläqa	Commander of the royal household troops.
Shobher	(14th century title of State official of uncertain meaning)
S'äbaté	Administrator of the monastery of Däbrä Libanos. He also acts as a judge within the gult land of the monastery.
S'ähafä Lam	Lit., 'Scribe of cow'; title of the Governors of Amhara, Shewa and Damot.
S'ähafé Te'ezaz	Royal Chronicler.
S'ärag Masäre	A cleric whose function was to place the crown on the emperor's head at the coronation in the court before he was properly crowned by an abun at the Church of Maryam S'eyon at Aksum.
Täzkarä Negus	A Person who was responsible for the commemoration service and a banquet upon the emperor's death.

T'aräsemba-

Demsash	An official who worke under the supervision of the T'aräsemba Azazh. The T'aräsemba Azazh being 'The judge of the Ozoros or Nobles'.
T'eran T'äbaqi	Lit., 'Keeper of a chest'; one of the church officials in the churches of Däbrä Berhan Sellasé and Däbrä S'sähay Qwesqwam in Gondar, whose responsibility is to help keep the vestments and other valuable gifts to the church.
Wänbär	Judge
Wäyzäro	Princess
West' Säw	See under Raq Masäré.
West' Blatténa	A page who worked under the supervision of the West' Säw, or the West' Azazh, who was also known as Raq Masäré.
Zhan S'erar	Chief of the District of Anbasäl.
Zekrä Negus	See under Tüzkarä Negus.

II. Terms

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CONCORDANCES OF MANUSCRIPTS AND DOCUMENTS STUDIED

<u>Manuscript No.</u>	<u>Document No.</u>	<u>Category No.</u>
B. L. Or. 481		
3v.	109	P.L.a.64.
4r.	15a.	C.L.a.15a.
4r.	56	P.L.a.11.
4r.	57	P.L.a.12.
4r.	59	P.L.a.14.
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92v.	37	C.L.b.1.
92v.	52	P.L.a.7.
92v.	182	Cr.L.1.
92v.	183	Cr.L.2.
124r.	1	C.L.a.1.
124r.	46	P.L.a.1.
124r.	47a.	P.L.a.2a.
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124v.	2	C.L.a.2.
124v.	6	C.L.a.6.
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132v.	188	Cr.L.7.
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208r.	184	Cr.L.3.
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208v.	20	C.L.a.20.
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286v.	85	P.L.a.40.

287r.	111	P.L.b.2.
287r.	163	P.L.d.24.
287r.	201	L.S.a.5.
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2v.	28	C.L.a.28.
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B. L. Or. 513, 2r.	41	C.L.b.5.
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170v.	248	L.S.b.16.
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171v.	34	C.L.a.34.
172v.	12b.	C.L.a.12b.
B. L. Or. 549		
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2v.	229	L.S.a.33.
144r.	166	P.L.d.27.
B. L. Or. 599, 168v.	31a.	C.L.a.31a.
B. L. Or. 600		
2v.	25	C.L.a.25.
159r.	31b.	C.L.a.31b.
B. L. Or. 604		
1r.	268	L.D.20.
2v.	62c.	P.L.a.17c.
2v.	65b.	P.L.a.20b.
2v.	254	L.D.6.
3r.	255	L.D.7.
8r.	148	P.L.d.9.
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19v.	243	L.S.b.11.
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75v.	274	L.D.26.
77r.	168	P.L.d.29.
77v.	271	L.D.23.
125v.	196	Cr.L.15.
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B. L. Or. 624, 3r.	250	L.D.2.
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B. L. Or. 636		
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2r.	77	P.L.a.32.
3v.	14	C.L.a.14.
3v.	143	P.L.d.4.
3v.	171	P.L.d.32.

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3v.	244	L.S.b.12.
4r.	110	P.L.b.1.
4r.	189	Cr.L.8.
4v.	13	C.L.a.13.
5r.	24	C.L.a.24.
5r.	58	P.L.a.13.
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B. L. Or. 659		
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239v.	193	Cr.L.12.
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B. L. Or. 673, 2r.	156	P.L.d.17.
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225r.	263	L.D.15.
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B. L. Or. 776		
1r.	115	P.L.b.6.
1r.	134	P.L.c.5.
1r.	157	P.L.d.18.
1v.	114	P.L.b.5.
1v.	266	L.D.18.
3r.	121	P.L.b.12.
3r.	239	L.S.b.7.
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4r.	238	L.S.b.6.
4r.	272	L.D.24.
9r.	269	L.D.21.

9v.	154	P.L.d.15.
9v.	265	L.D.17.
10r.	91	P.L.a.46.
10v.	89	P.L.a.44.
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269r.	64	P.L.a.19.
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270v.	66	P.L.a.21.
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17r.	139	P.L.c.10.
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18v.	247	L.S.b.15.
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P.L.d.41.	180	B. L. Or. 777, 19v.
P.L.d.42.	181	B. L. Or. 777, 280v.
Cr.L.1.	182	B. L. Or. 481, 92r.
Cr.L.2.	183	B. L. Or. 481, 92r.
Cr.L.3.	184	B. L. Or. 481, 208r.
Cr.L.4.	185	B. L. Or. 481, 92r.
Cr.L.5.	186	B. L. Or. 481, 132v.
Cr.L.6.	187	B. L. Or. 481, 132v.
Cr.L.7.	188	B. L. Or. 481, 132v.
Cr.L.8.	189	B. L. Or. 636, 4r.
Cr.L.9.	190	Cambridge Add. 1570, 264r.
Cr.L.10.	191	B. L. Or. 776, 268v.
Cr.L.11.	192	Cambridge Add. 1570, 267v.
Cr.L.12.	193	B. L. Or. 659, 239v.
Cr.L.13.	194	B. L. Or. 778, 2v.
Cr.L.14.	195	B. L. Or. 777, 280v.
Cr.L.15.	196	B. L. Or. 604, 125v.
L.S.a.1.	197	B. L. Or. 777, 286v.
L.S.a.2.	198	B. L. Or. 712, 107v.
L.S.a.3.	199	B. L. Or. 777, 287v.
L.S.a.4.	200	B. L. Or. 745, 223r.
L.S.a.5.	201	B. L. Or. 508, 287r.
L.S.a.6.	202	B. L. Or. 549, 1v.
L.S.a.7.	203	B. L. Or. 776, 3v.
L.S.a.8.	204	B. L. Or. 777, 7v.
L.S.a.9.	205	B. L. Or. 777, 9v.
L.S.a.10.	206	B. L. Or. 777, 283v.
L.S.a.11.	207	B. L. Or. 799, 1r.
L.S.a.12.	208	B. L. Or. 799, 1r.
L.S.a.13.	209	B. L. Or. 799, 5v.
L.S.a.14.	210	B. L. Or. 799, 157v.
L.S.a.15.	211	B. L. Or. 745, 5r.
L.S.a.16.	212	Cambridge Add. 1570, 261r.
L.S.a.17.	213	Cambridge Add. 1570, 261r.

L.S.a.18.	214	B. L. Or. 778, 9v.
L.S.a.19.	215	Cambridge Add. 1570, 266v.
L.S.a.20.	216	Cambridge Add. 1570, 266v.
L.S.a.21.	217	Cambridge Add. 1570, 266v.
L.S.a.22.	218	Cambridge Add. 1570, 267r.
L.S.a.23.	219	Cambridge Add. 1570, 267v.
L.S.a.24.	220	Cambridge Add. 1570, 267v.
L.S.a.25.	221	B. L. Or. 799, 7r.
L.S.a.26.	222	B. L. Or. 777, 280r.
L.S.a.27.	223	B. L. Or. 777, 280r.
L.S.a.28.	224	B. L. Or. 636, 3v.
L.S.a.29.	225	B. L. Or. 777, 280v.
L.S.a.30.	226	B. L. Or. 777, 17v.
L.S.a.31.	227	B. L. Or. 777, 281r.
L.S.a.32.	228	B. L. Or. 745, 7v.
L.S.a.33.	229	B. L. Or. 549, 2v.
L.S.a.34.	230	B. L. Or. 604, 19v.
L.S.a.35.	231	B. L. Or. 777, 15v.
L.S.a.36.	232	B. L. Or. 777, 18v.
L.S.b.1.	233	B. L. Or. 778, 2v.
L.S.b.2.	234	B. L. Or. 799, 4v.
L.S.b.3.	235	B. L. Or. 799, 55r.
L.S.b.4.	236	B. L. Or. 799, 5v.
L.S.b.5.	237	B. L. Or. 799, 55r.
L.S.b.6.	238	B. L. Or. 776, 4r.
L.S.b.7.	239	B. L. Or. 776, 3r.
L.S.b.8.	240	B. L. Or. 799, 26v.
L.S.b.9.	241	B. L. Or. 799, 157v.
L.S.b.10.	242	B. L. Or. 799, 26v.
L.S.b.11.	243	B. L. Or. 604, 19v.
L.S.b.12.	244	B. L. Or. 636, 3v.
L.S.b.13.	245	B. L. Or. 776, 268v.
L.S.b.14.	246	B. L. Or. 829*, 51r.
L.S.b.15.	247	B. L. Or. 777, 18v.
L.S.b.16.	248	B. L. Or. 518, 170v.
L.D.1.	249	B. L. Or. 729, 2v.
L.D.2.	250	B. L. Or. 624, 3r.
L.D.3.	251	B. L. Or. 777, 2v.
L.D.4.	252	B. L. Or. 776, 270v.
L.D.5.	253	B. L. Or. 508, 284r.
L.D.6.	254	B. L. Or. 604, 2v.
L.D.7.	255	B. L. Or. 604, 3r.
L.D.8.	256	B. L. Or. 777, 246v.
L.D.9a.	257a.	B. L. Or. 777, 4r.
L.D.9b.	257b.	B. L. Or. 777, 284v.
L.D.10.	258	B. L. Or. 777, 12r.
L.D.11.	259	B. L. Or. 776, 271r.
L.D.12.	260	B. L. Or. 777, 9r.
L.D.13.	261	B. L. Or. 776, 272r.

L.D.14.	262	B. L. Or. 776, 272v.
L.D.15.	263	B. L. Or. 745, 225r.
L.D.16.	264	B. L. Or. 776, 272v.
L.D.17.	265	B. L. Or. 776, 9v.
L.D.18.	266	B. L. Or. 776, 1v.
L.D.19.	267	B. L. Or. 745, 225v.
L.D.20.	268	B. L. Or. 604, 1r.
L.D.21.	269	B. L. Or. 776, 9r.
L.D.22.	270	B. L. Or. 778, 9v.
L.D.23.	271	B. L. Or. 604, 77v.
L.D.24.	272	B. L. Or. 776, 4r.
L.D.25.	273	B. L. Or. 776, 12v.
L.D.26.	274	B. L. Or. 604, 75v.
Appendix C.L.1.	-	B. L. Or. 481, 92r.
Appendix C.L.2.	-	B. L. Or. 481, 209r.

Other manuscript references in the thesis apply to documents or passages not selected for this study.

B. L. Add. 16, 200
 B. L. Or. 487
 B. L. Or. 491
 B. L. Or. 504
 B. L. Or. 514
 B. L. Or. 520
 B. L. Or. 529
 B. L. Or. 575
 B. L. Or. 576
 B. L. Or. 594
 B. L. Or. 633
 B. L. Or. 637
 B. L. Or. 657
 B. L. Or. 670
 B. L. Or. 674
 B. L. Or. 721
 B. L. Or. 725
 B. L. Or. 733
 B. L. Or. 734
 B. L. Or. 746
 B. L. Or. 762
 B. L. Or. 792
 B. L. Or. 802
 B. L. Or. 806
 B. L. Or. 813

B. L. Or. 817

B. L. Or. 820

B. L. Or. 821

B. L. Or. 827

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